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REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

AMERICAN TEMPERANCE UNION,

1854.

PLEDGE OF THE UNION.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, DO AGREE THAT WE WILL NOT USE INTOXICATING LIQUORS AS A BEVERAGE, NOR TRAFFIC IN THEM; THAT WE WILL NOT PROVIDE THEM AS AN ARTICLE OF ENTERTAINMENT, OR FOR PERSONS IN OUR EMPLOYMENT, AND THAT, IN ALL SUITABLE WAYS, WE WILL DISCOUNTENANCE THEIR USE THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNITY.

NEW YORK :
AMERICAN TEMPERANCE UNION, 149 NASSAU STREET.
1854.

REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

IN CONNECTION WITH THE
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE
UNITED STATES

AND
A
GENERAL
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
GEOLOGY
OF THE
UNITED STATES

BY
J. W. GARDNER, U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN TEMPERANCE UNION, 1854.

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EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

WITHIN the past year, the venerable Chairman of the Executive Committee, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., long devoted to pious and philanthropic objects, has passed to his reward. Men die, but God lives. Society changes, but all the great physical and moral laws of the Universe continue without variableness, spreading blessings invaluable as they are unobstructed and obeyed.

“Of Law,” it has been truly said, “there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice, the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempt from her power;—both Angels and men, and creatures, of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all, with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.”* And yet, what more perverted than law! What contributes like law to the miseries of the world! Under law, the law of appetite, man has added drunkenness to thirst; and, pleading the constitution God has given them, millions have destroyed all their moral and physical powers, broken every tie of natural affection, and wretchedly sunk to dishonored graves. Under the law of fashion, man has sacrificed his dignity as man, and become the slave of the most extravagant customs. By the laws of honor, men of highest dignity and worth, leaders of armies, senators and statesmen have been forced into private combat in the field, mangling and destroying each other like the wild beasts of the forest, and leaving in their path widowhood and orphanage, remorse and despair. Under laws of trade which justify men in saying “It is naught, it is naught to the buyer,” which often countenance and sanction every deception and fraud that united ingenuity and depravity can devise, honest men have been stripped in an hour of the fair earnings of years, and

* Hooker.

families, blessed with every comfort, been thrown into want and despair. The laws of slavery!—who can tell what they have been, what they have sanctioned, what they have done? Africa has bled under them at every pore; millions of her sons have been stolen from their homes, forced through the horrors of the middle passage, sold into bondage, driven under the broiling tropical sun by the whip of cruel task-masters, until released by the hand that has placed them “where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.” Three millions of human beings in our own enlightened and Christian country, are now held in bondage; sold like beasts in the market; not suffered to be taught to read; forced back in chains in every effort to escape, and the law says, “It is right.” War too, that terrible scourge of man, has been sustained by law, and more than fourteen thousand millions of human beings, or one tenth part of all the inhabitants of the earth since the creation, have, it is estimated,* legally come to an untimely end. The wars of Napoleon cost the world seven millions of human lives, besides all the misery attendant on the trampling of armies, the destruction of food, the burning of villages, the sack of cities, and the breaking up of all the security of business and the peace and quiet of domestic life. All has been right by the laws of war; and the wholesale butchery of States and nations, have made the Alexanders, the Cæsars, and Napoleons, who, for a single offence, would have swung upon a gallows, the idols of the world.

The laws which have licensed the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage, though originally intended as a regulator of an evil, have in reality proved a bloody commission to kill and destroy. At a low calculation, since the commencement of the present century, 1,500,000 persons have, through this legalized traffic, been hurried, in our own country, into drunkards graves; five thousand million dollars have been uselessly expended; ten thousand murders, with conflagrations and shipwrecks unnumbered, have been caused; and procession after procession has gone to the poor-house, the jail, the mad-house, and the orphans home. An English writer estimates from authentic and undisputed data, that had intemperance in Great Britain gone on unopposed to the end of the present century, there would have been converted, from 1801 to 1900, fifteen million seven hundred thousand sober men, into common drunkards; twenty million beings would have been reduced to pauperism; five millions excited

* Dick's Philosophy of Religion.

to the commission of horrid crime ; four millions deprived of their reason ; eleven hundred millions sterling, would have been lost to the trade of the country, and two hundred and fifty-five million years of human probation been cut off and destroyed. Against it all, there is yet no law ; but the men who do it all, the traffickers at its base, are all sanctioned by law and upheld by law. The government says "It is right," and the conscience of the nation sleeps undisturbed.

Roused with indignation at this monstrous perversion of law, and determined that the authors of this bloody work should no longer plead their license given by the State, the Legislature of Maine, in the memorable year 1851, resolved, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, should not only not receive the sanction of law, but should be forever expelled from the State as a nuisance and a curse. Awakened by her example, the territory of Minnesota in the far West, and the States of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Vermont in the east, soon after followed, adopting the same prohibitory statutes ; and now another star has been added to this bright constellation of protection and reform in the State of Michigan, one of the rising and beautiful empires of the West.

This change of legislation, through which law, whose "seat is the bosom of God," is no longer perverted to the upholding of iniquity, is one of those great events in human history, which, like the discovery of a Western hemisphere, is to change the face of the world. Such already has been its salutary action even amid serious obstructions, in removing temptation, diminishing drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, saving wasted money, reforming inebriates, making desolate homes happy, preserving public quiet, rescuing the Sabbath from vile desecration, and increasing, among the laboring classes, both the means and taste for education, that no effort of its antagonists has been successful against it, and no contention for its legality has caused its overthrow. In its parent State, the State of Maine, it already stands like the deep rooted oak of the forest, under whose branches the people find comfort. Says the Hon. Neal Dow, the originator of the law, in answer to inquiries on the subject,

"The Maine Law has been in operation in the State less than three years, having been approved by the Governor, June 2, 1851 ; and now it will be unanimously agreed by all disinterested persons, that the quantity of liquor sold or consumed in the State is not one-tenth so much as it was before that time. If I were to say one-twentieth, I think it would be very far within the truth.

"Neither in Portland, Bangor, or any other city or town in Maine are there

any open grog-shops, as there were all over the State before the Maine Law; while in many of the towns the rum traffic has been entirely annihilated. We have no longer, as stock-in-trade in our shops and groceries, the long list of intoxicating drinks which were formerly to be found there; but instead, we have more food and more raiment for the comfort of those now able to purchase, but who formerly had little of these, because the *temptations* of the beershops were irresistible. Thousands of families now live in comfort, which formerly found a precarious and scanty subsistence, or depended on private charity, or upon the alms house for support. The drinking man, reformed by the removal of temptation out of his way, restored to his right mind, no longer on the Sabbath morning seeks the beershop to spend there all the holy time—*there is no beershop*—but he turns his steps, with wife and children, to the house of God; and the children, formerly ragged, neglected, and playing about the streets, are now constant attendants on the Sabbath school. A system like the rum traffic—the growth of centuries, and interwoven with the appetites, passions, and interests of all bad men—is not to be overthrown in a day or year, but will pass away with time and effort.

“The Maine Law as it now stands is no finality with us. It was thought to be as much as the public opinion of the time would sustain, but now the people are fully committed to the system which was inaugurated by it, and will follow up the measure by additional provisions and penalties, until there shall be no grog-shops in Maine, either open or secret.”

In Vermont the law meets with but few obstacles, and is the joy of the State. In a few particulars it is more stringent than the original Maine Law, and more easily and efficaciously enforced. The miserable inebriate is taken up and put in ward until he is sober, and then he is compelled to testify who sold him the liquor; and the officer, who neglects to do his duty in enforcing the law, is subjected to severe penalties. Says a gentleman who was Speaker of the House of Representatives at the time of its adoption, and whose information is extensive relating to its operations in the State :

“Ten thousand streams of woe have been dried at their fountains,—pauperism has been most surprisingly diminished in many localities,—county jails have, in many instances, become tenantless,—drunken rows, for which Vermont, under her former iniquitous license laws, was so proverbial, are now reckoned almost entirely among the things that were,—and gross inebriety, if witnessed at all, excites astonishment, and is quite sure to furnish the means of detecting and punishing the offender. Thus much has the law accomplished for our State.

“One other thing has it effected, a point of incalculable good. Under all former laws, which aimed only to *regulate* the traffic in intoxicating liquors, and which clothed their sale and use with a sort of legal respectability; men were emboldened to take their drams in the face of day, without apparent mortification or chagrin. The example of tippling was set daily and hourly, in every considerable village or place of resort, before young men and lads, by men of influence; and an occasional sneer at the temperance reform and the labors of its advocates, added effect to their pernicious practices and examples. Now, law has set the seal of its condemnation upon the sale and use of intoxicating beverages, and men schooled in the grog-shop no longer

have the effrontery to make public exhibitions of their impious practices, but cower beneath the withering rebuke which the moral power of law has given their evil indulgences and their former pernicious influence. Men who indulge in their cups at this day, are fully sensible that law has made the practice disreputable, if not infamous.

In Rhode Island, the law has met with obstacles to its due enforcement in every stage of its progress. In the United States and the State Courts, its constitutionality has been denied and tested in every form. Public officers have refused, under the slightest pretences, to do their duty. Legislators, chosen for the accomplishment of other objects, have sacrificed this to the securing of those. Hence there has been delay after delay; but yet the people have stood firm, and waited with great patience to have the problem worked out at the ballot box, whether the people shall govern. That period has arrived; a temperance Governor has been duly elected by 10,000 majority, and a decided Maine Law Senate and Assembly secured; the Law comes out as the sun from behind a cloud, and will move on, it is believed, unobstructed to its glorious destiny.

In Massachusetts, where it was adopted in 1852, it has been hailed with joy by the mass of the population, and shewn what it is capable, if it could move onward unobstructed, of doing for the State; but, in its great commercial metropolis, it has been called to meet with opposition from the entire city government, and a powerful body of distillers, venders and consumers. At length, however, that government has been changed, and the law begins to be in the ascendant. In the Supreme Court of the State, it has just passed a fiery ordeal. The constitutionality of the 14th Section of the law relating to search and seizure, has been denied in a case of prosecution. The law was defended in an argument of great ability, by the Hon. Rufus Choate, in which he regarded liquor under certain circumstances of prohibition in the same light as counterfeit bills, gaming implements, lottery tickets, obscene publications. The law destroys them, and in such manner as the State sees fit for the public benefit; and on the same principle, that they are injurious to the community when kept for sale, intoxicating liquors are put out of the way. But the Court in their decision, said:

“ We have no doubt that it is competent for the Legislature to declare the possession of certain articles of property, either absolutely or when held in particular places and under particular circumstances, to be unlawful, because they are injurious, dangerous, or noxious; and by due process of law, by proceedings *in rem*, to provide both for the abatement of the nuisance and the punishment of the offender, by the seizure and confiscation of the property, by the removal, sale, or destruction of the noxious articles.”

Yet the Court decided that the Section was unconstitutional, inasmuch as the measures, adopted in the search and seizure did not accord with the precise language of the Bill of Rights. In the language of the Court, "The system of measures directed and authorized by the Bill," are not authorized by the Constitution, and therefore null. This decision has expunged that Section from the law, but without at all affecting its other Sections. And when in the late session of the Legislature, the most strenuous efforts were made to repeal the entire statute, it was defeated in the popular branch of the Legislature by a vote of 180 to 82. All hope and expectation of repeal and a return to the old license system by any future Legislature, is now at an end. It must have its term of trial ;—amid great resistances it may, but its trial will be to its praise and firm abiding.

In the State of Michigan, it was emphatically and preeminently by the voice of the people placed in immediate operation, in a popular vote and a clear majority of 20,000. Almost at once, as if the "voice of the people was the voice of God," men prepared to obey the law and abandon, throughout the State, the accursed traffic ; but here too a question of constitutionality was raised on the ground of its submission to the people. The Judges unfortunately were equally divided ; the decision was subsequently in favor of the law yet with a strong minority in the Court against it ; the enforcement of the law was suspended ; the trade goes on and but little opportunity has been given to test and prove its worth to the State. The people wait in anxious solicitude for future operations, but with no fear of repeal.

The actual results of the prohibitory system in these several States of its adoption, gathered from official and authentic records, have been given to the public during the past year by the Committee ; and they are happy to say that a large edition of the work has been disposed of both in our own country and in the British possessions. The document has been republished in Great Britain and sent to every member of the British Parliament and to other influential gentlemen throughout the Kingdom. This, the Committee feel will preclude the necessity of entering very minutely into the subject here. They will merely state, beyond what already has been said, that, so far as the law has taken effect, there has been a clear saving of four-fifths of the money usually expended on intoxicating drinks and a diminution of at least two-thirds of drunkenness, pauperism and crime ; a great increase of domestic comfort among the laboring poor, and of public peace and order, especially on the Sabbath. To

statements made by an eminent citizen of Portland, Maine, Hon. John Neal, that the operations of the law were disastrous and that, through stealth and the perversity of men deprived of their rights, there was more drinking and drunkenness than under a well regulated system of license could be found. Replies were made signed by 430 of the most distinguished citizens, including his Honor the Mayor, several of the wealthiest bankers and merchants, nearly all the clergy and very many of the industrial classes, the bone and sinew of the City, declaring the statements to be altogether without foundation. To these testimonials were added the witness of the Rev. Dr. Burgess, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Maine; a testimonial of so much weight and importance, that the Committee will add it to their report.

It is the peculiar characteristic of our country that, while the government of the United States is an unit, the laws that control and regulate business, that protect the citizens, restrain and punish vice and encourage virtue, are generally laws of the States; and that, while the inhabitants of one State are prohibited from doing some great moral wrong, that same wrong may be not only permitted but sustained by law just over an imaginary line, and where the people mingle daily and continually in all the business and pleasures of life. Hence in one State, the traffic in intoxicating liquors may be absolutely prohibited, and punished with pains and penalties; while, in an adjoining State, separated by no visible mark, the same traffic may not only be permitted, but may actually be legalized by the government, and also be defended by all the power of the State. But every State is watchful of its own interest and prosperity; and if it beholds any measure in a neighboring State, adopting a course which gives stability to its institutions, and prosperity to its agriculture, commerce and manufactures, it is quick to secure it. Every State in the Union, has long groaned under the evils flowing from the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and asked of each succeeding Legislature, that something may be done to stay the plague. In the State of New-York, containing three millions of perhaps the most enlightened, enterprising and virtuous population on the globe, thirty-six thousand persons have been incarcerated in her prisons in a single year, for crimes committed under the influence of intoxicating drinks. The last annual Report of the statistics of pauperism made to the Legislature by the Secretary of State, place the total expence incurred, in 1853, for the support of paupers, excluding the poor of the City of New York, at

the enormous sum of one million nine hundred thousand, seven hundred and forty-seven dollars. The number of paupers relieved or supported during the year, was one hundred and thirty thousand and thirty-seven; of those, judging by all previous statistics, two-thirds were reduced by intemperance. What this expense will be in future years without a Maine Law, is becoming a serious question. In Pennsylvania the annual cost of Intemperance to the State, is estimated at fifteen million of dollars. Here are thirty thousand drunkards, a blight on all that is lovely and might be prosperous in the domestic circle, and a loathsome and debasing spectacle to the State. Her houses of Correction, and her State Penitentiaries surpass in magnitude and cost, her noblest manufacturies; while her almshouse on the banks of the Schuylkill, filled with drunken poor, vies in extent with an Oriental palace. In Ohio, the ravages of Intemperance have been most appalling, and of five hundred prisoners in her State Penitentiary, more than two-thirds have been venders of intoxicating drinks.

In Tennessee, of two hundred and forty convicts confined in her penitentiary, two hundred and twenty have been habitually intemperate; and one hundred and twenty-seven were drunk when they committed their crimes. One hundred and ninety-seven of these were sons of intemperate fathers. In Maryland, of nine hundred and ninety-two adults admitted in a single year into the Baltimore almshouse, nine hundred and forty-four were known to be of intemperate habits; and the support of these poor, cost the city in that year, no less than \$21,709 28. A Southern paper gives the following illustration of what Intemperance has done in the State of Louisiana.

“ During the last year there was expended something near \$30,000,000 for intoxicating drinks in this State; \$20,000,000 was expended in New Orleans alone. There were made about 16,000 arrests, directly and indirectly for drunkenness, in this city and State. About 300 deaths by *delirium tremens*; about 75 murders, besides a host of other crimes. Over 1,000 have been reduced to vagrancy and pauperism; the resources of the State have been crippled; thousands have been kept out of employment; society has been seriously and deeply damaged in all its relations; the health and energies of our best citizens have been destroyed and ruined for life.”

Under these circumstances, and with these appalling facts in their midst, it would be the greatest injustice in these States to themselves, with the Maine Law before them, not to insist upon and procure, without delay, the same relief. In the autumnal election in the State of New York, it formed the great test. Men, in most parts of the State, who would not give an assurance of support to a prohibitory law,

whatever their political party might be, found it difficult to obtain a seat in either branch of the Legislature. Accordingly a Senate and House of Assembly were returned, in whom the friends of such a system of legislation felt entire confidence. Sensible that this would form an important subject of legislative action, his Excellency Gov. Seymour, in his opening message, called the attention of the Legislature to it, remarking that "Intemperance was justly regarded as a fruitful source of misery, destitution and crime, whose effects are forced in a painful manner upon the attention of those who are required to execute the laws." He referred to the defects and insufficiency in the present system of regulation; to the non-enforcement of the license laws in the large commercial towns and cities, and to the great increase of intemperance through drugged liquors; but he wisely cautioned against any measures which might "conflict with settled principles of legislation or with the rights of citizens." Both branches of the Legislature appointed committees to report upon this part of the Governor's message. The Hon. Myron H. Clarke reported from the Senate, and C. C. Leigh, Esq., from the Assembly; both reports were luminous and highly satisfactory to the friends of prohibitory law. Both clearly showed that the system of regulation by license had proved an entire failure; that the evils flowing from intemperance were of such a magnitude as to demand legislative interference; that no interference would be of any avail but one of entire prohibition of the traffic, with search and seizure and destruction of liquors offered for sale;—that such legislation was constitutional, and practicable, and strongly demanded by the mass of the people, if not in the great commercial Emporium, yet throughout the State. They each united in reporting a Bill which had been prepared with much care, examined by some of the most eminent jurists of the State, and pronounced constitutional and wise. It was however a transcript with some improvements, of the Bill which had been passed in the Senate of 1853. As was to be expected, in a State where millions are invested in distilleries and breweries, in magnificent Hotels, splendid Saloons, taverns, bars and dram-shops; where floats the commerce of the world, where a foreign population is poured in daily by thousands, the bill met with the most determined opposition. The Hon. Mr. Brooks, Senator from New York City, said:

"In this subject the city of New York has an inconceivable interest. Millions upon millions of dollars are to be affected by this legislation. The commercial man is not alone interested. The agriculturist, who raises his

millions of bushels of barley, of rye, oats, corn, has something to say, since he has over five millions of dollars interested. And this law seeks to strike all this out of existence.

"I have serious constitutional objections to the Bill before us. I do not think there is power to pass such a law. To what practical end does the Government allow me to import a class of goods which the State makes contraband, and which I can only dispose of under the pains and penalties of the law? Chief Justice Taney, in the 5th of Howard, declares that if the State laws come in collision with the act of Congress, and prevent or obstruct the importation or sale of the articles by the importer, it would be the duty of the Court to declare them void.

"Is there not law sufficient upon your statute books to remedy the evils of intemperance? Strike at the abuse and not the use, and you will do far more good than you can by a law which makes it criminal to buy and sell even a glass of fermented beverage.

"I am ready to admit that the Maine Liquor Law has done good in Maine and elsewhere. I have seen its good effects in Maine, in keeping men of depraved appetites and uncontrolled passions from the temptation incident to the constant and almost omnipresent sale of intoxicating liquors.

"But while, I am ever eager to make the confession that the Maine Law has done good and perhaps great good there, I must also assert that it has done some harm. It is evaded there in all the forms which the wit or ingenuity of man can devise. It has led to a system of deception and perjury, of craft and trick, shocking to contemplate."

The Hon. Mr. Dickinson, Senator from the County of Broome, replied. He said :

"Government has for its first end, the protecting of the virtuous against the guilty—the good against the bad, and the Bill only asks to prevent the sale of liquor, as involving the most wretched consequences. Wherever throughout the country, the cause of temperance has been sustained, the cause of virtue has been triumphant. In some towns he could name, where for years no license had been granted, there was neither pauper, drunkard or ruined man. In another town, the red-eyes and sore-heads go to a premature grave, for in that town licenses had been given. In another the sprightliest, and the best hearted young men are the victims. Nor does the country boy go far to meet this temptation. It is all around. The generous and the talented boy is drawn into these vile sinks, and ruined.

"The fortunes distillers and brewers are making out of the poor and the wretched, are the reasons why such ingenious opposition comes from the city of New York. Untold millions can not begin to pay this debt. The law can be carried out. New York State will have a majority of one hundred thousand in favor of carrying out this Bill. The landlords will all be interested, and will come to the rescue.

"The Senator had appealed to the dead. If the graves were consulted, there would be such a tale told as would make the Metropolis ring. He had alluded to other countries. There never was a government like this, devised by man. Rome and Greece bear no comparison. This country has been made by the genius and polish of its government, each and every man standing on his own foundation. Of all the useful inventions, ninety-nine hundredths have been brought forward in this country.

"He believed that the bill was demanded by the Temperance people. Even the poor, miserable drunkard who rolls in the kennels, demands it. Search the heart of these poor wretches, and you will find the demand most eloquent. He never had known a confirmed drunkard, who was not for this law. They

beg that the law will take temptation from them, for while it is before them, they must yield."

The Hon. M. H. Clarke, Senator from Ontario, considered all the objections to the law as summed up in the following positions, each one of which he ably confuted.

I. This prohibitory enactment conflicts with man's natural and heaven-born rights.

II. It has not worked successfully where it has gone into operation.

III. It aims at the destruction of property.

IV. It cannot be enforced.

On the destruction of property he made the following remarks, worthy of the attention of every patriot and citizen :

"I deny that the law aims at the destruction of property. On the contrary, its direct and legitimate aim is, the protection of life and property and the better security of the happiness of the people.

"I have been surprised that Hon. Senators around this circle have been so blind to this view of the matter. We have heard and read most affecting appeals made to the friends of humanity in behalf of those whose property will be destroyed by the working of a prohibitory liquor law. It is said, with great pathos, that in this single county of Albany, "there are over \$3,000,000 invested in breweries. Immense structures, erected at a great cost, and adapted for no other purposes, are filled either with the manufactured article, or the material necessary to the manufacture." This is surely a most melancholy fact to relate of this county. But let me ask what is the cost of this unnatural consumption and use to the people of this State annually? Have we thought of that? We are told that over \$50,000,000 are invested in the manufacture of intoxicating drinks in this single State. And so far from regarding this investment, with the liabilities of its sacrifice, as an objection to the passage of this law, I think it must be seen to be one of the chief reasons for it. Why, how gigantic the evil has grown under the fostering *protection of the law!* What an immense amount of property is worse than wasted! What an awful perversion of the means of life to thousands of suffering, starving poor! Why, sir, if by law we were this day to destroy every dollar of money so invested, and put out forever the fire of every distillery and brewery in the State, if we were to shut up every place of sale and cut off all supplies, we should, by that single act, increase the wealth of the State by more than \$100,000,000, besides all the crime prevented, life saved, and happiness to thousands secured. The expense of this traffic is enormous. More than \$50,000,000 are annually paid for liquor in this State, to be poured down the throats of men. All this is worse than wasted. It wastes as it goes on its fiery way, like the blasting and desolating sirocco of the desert. More than \$50,000,000 more are annually lost to the State by this traffic, in productive energy; the strong arms of stalwart men paralyzed, and their energies destroyed. Besides, as the product of this *unhallowed* traffic, we have about 50,000 criminals thrust upon us every year, about 75,000 more to fill our alms houses and other charitable institutions. In this estimate, the scores of thousands paid in private charities to the unhappy victims of rum, are not included. Nor is the untold misery resulting, regarded. This can not be counted by dollars and cents. No tongue can tell this. Human hearts, crushed and broken, can feel it, and only into the ears of Him who holds our destinies in His hand, do all these sounds of woe and these wailings of grief enter—and He is a just God."

In the Assembly, the subject was discussed amid much agitation. The opponents contended strongly for the rights of trade and the privileges of consumers; but the worst opponents of the bill, were political intriguers who, endeavored continually to thwart the movements of its friends, lest the interests of the party should in some way be injured. To defer the execution of the law until after the next election, was, with them, a favorite project. But they were met with torrents of argument and eloquence. Said Mr. Joy of Tompkins County, in a speech of great power,

“ This course is unworthy of us, and of the great cause we have been sent here to advance. This vacillation strengthens the arms of our enemies and weakens our own. It is not a wise or a manly policy for us. Had we all stood firmly—had we never faltered from the start, this bill might long since have been a law. Had any member of this House, who came up on this issue, announced before his election that he was in favor of a law which should not take effect until after another Legislature entered this Hall, and this should have gone out, he would have been dropped instanter. No voter expected such a course. The member from Seneca says, that if the reports are to be believed, the passage of this bill will kill the Whig party; but if they don't pass it, the same doom awaits them, only a little more so. I commend to that party the example of the ferryman at Black Rock, who when about to untie his boat at early dawn, to take over a panting fugitive to his land of promise, was suddenly arrested by the slave-hunter and his loaded pistol, accompanied with the threat that if he *did* untie the boat, he was a dead man. A friend of the flying fugitive, who happened to be in the boat, also advanced and presented a loaded pistol to the breast of the ferryman, with the announcement that if he *didn't* untie the boat, and pass over the fugitive, his brains should be blown out! “ Well,” said the distressed ferryman, “ farewell, wife—farewell, children—I'm a dead man anyhow; so let me do one good act before I go, and die for freedom,” untying the boat at the same time and passing over.

“ To the Whigs, I would say, pass this law openly, boldly without connivance, without dodging, and you shall live. The people will even pardon an error in bold legislation; but cowardice never. Gen. Jackson was the people's idol, *because* he dared to *do* what his convictions taught him was right. We know what the people demand—what our own consciences demand. It seems as if Divine Providence had plainly ordered all things for its advent. There need be no fears that the agricultural interests will be affected by the law. The farmer will not suffer, as has been constantly predicted. The present excessively high prices of grain unmistakably indicate this as one of the most favorable times which could be chosen. Under such circumstances, our regard for the poor in the land should induce us to pass this law. The poor need the grain which is now manufactured into alcoholic liquors. Instead of meeting the wants of this large class, now doubly oppressive from high prices, it is taken from a legitimate existence, and made an engine of more bitter wants. The staff of life is transformed into a deadly poison. Instead of carrying comfort to the poor, it is made a liquid curse to go burning through the laborer's brain, burning out his manhood, and visiting deeper woes upon his family. Pass this law. The poor will bless us for the bread it will save, and the comfort it will bring their humble homes.

“ In behalf of the women and children of New York, who have no voice in this hall, save through those into whose hands their common interests have

been confided, I most earnestly and solemnly protest against this unjustifiable compromise with a common enemy. If the interests of earth and the hopes of heaven ; if the common weal here and an immortality in the future, are of any value, we cannot any longer license their wholesale destruction. Thousands of drunkards—hopes of disenthralment and of another day of manhood of them, kindled up amid the ruins of the past—are watching with intense interest the deliberations of this body. Even while writhing within the cruel folds of their drunkenness, they voted for this law, at the last election. They looked to it as their only hope, dreaming that in the wake of its God-like progress, the stones would be rolled away from the graves of their drunkenness, and they again come forth in the dignity of their manhood. “Pass this law,” once said a weeping drunkard to me, “and I can live and die a sober man, and, I trust, go to heaven. As it now is, I cannot go to mill without peril.” There is a tear in the thought. And could the trophies of this damning traffic, now gathered where the rum can curse them no more, speak to us from their unnumbered graves, up and down the earth and from ocean’s depths, the testimony would cry loudly against a longer continuation of legalized degradation and butchery. Wherever there is a home or a heart to suffer, or a despairing spirit wrestling with the relentless fiend of the cup, a voice will come up for a course worthy of those legislating for the most cherished interests of a great people.”

It was near the close of the Session, before the subject was brought to a final vote, when it passed the Senate by twenty-one yeas to eleven nays ; and the Assembly, by seventy-eight yeas to forty-two nays. The first of December 1854, was fixed upon as the day of its execution.

Great joy was felt among the friends of humanity, in this and other States. The extension of the time of execution, to the first of December, was viewed by the more ardent friends of the Bill, an unfortunate yielding to political rather than moral motives ; but in the passage of such a Bill by such a vote, and in such a State as the State of New York, containing the great commercial Emporium of the nation, was seen a hand which might one day redeem us from all our troubles. What course the Governor would pursue, it was difficult to foresee. His counsels were in his own bosom. Yet none could suppose that he would say, The voice of the people shall not be heard ; the solemn decision of a large and intelligent Legislature shall not be regarded, the doors shutting out drunkenness, poverty and heart-rending crime, shall not be closed. But so it was to be. In a few days, he announced to his friends that he must veto the Bill, and shortly sent it in with his reasons. The public mind was saddened at the announcement. The friends of temperance, humanity and justice, felt that a great civil and moral wrong was done, which could be palliated only by the most substantial reasons. The enemies of the Bill were exceedingly exultant. A large company of Germans marched up to the Capitol with torch light and music, and thanked the Governor for

the manner in which he had so nobly stood up in defence of the doctrine of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the State. The Governor thanked them for their approbation adding, in contempt of legislation and law, that, on the virtue, morality, and religion of the people, depended their prosperity rather than on prohibitory laws. But by the most respectable portion of the press throughout the State, and in several large public meetings, the Veto was severely condemned. One of the largest meetings of the friends of Temperance ever held in the city of Albany, containing many members of the Legislature, was early convened at the City Hall, and the following among other resolutions was unanimously adopted.

Whereas, Horatio Seymour, Governor of this State, has by an unjustifiable exercise of his constitutional power, in opposition to the wishes of a large majority of the voters of this State, vetoed the "Act for the suppression of Intemperance."

Resolved, That, in so doing, the Governor has arrayed himself in direct antagonism to all the dearest interests of humanity; that homes made desolate, wives made widows, children made orphans, and all the evils flowing from the prosecution of the Rum Traffic have received a fresh impetus and encouragement by this mark of Executive favor.

The Veto of Gov. Seymour was based on three positions :

1. That portions of the Bill were at variance with the Bill of Rights and unconstitutional.
2. That its tendencies were all oppressive, vexatious and mischievous, and its penalties altogether unequal ; and
3. That a system of entire prohibition would prove injurious and destructive rather than beneficial to the cause of temperance.

Each of these reasons were closely scrutinized by a disappointed public ; and before the adjournment of the Legislature, the members who had voted for the law assembled and resolved on a review of this message and an address to the people of the State. That review and address are before the public. The Committee cannot here enter into its details. They can merely say that, in their opinion, it is a masterly refutation of almost every position of the Veto message. In relation to the veto power, the reviewers say, and the Committee fully accord :

"The veto power has always been conceded, by the wisest statesmen to be a dangerous one, in a government resting upon the will of the people.—It is anti-democratic, anti-republican, and was reserved by the Constitution as a matter of necessity only. It has always been regarded in the light of a necessary evil at best in our form of government, and was intended only as a check upon hasty and excited or unconstitutional legislation. Its exercise was contemplated only in cases of extreme and urgent necessity, to prevent the per-

petration of some great folly or flagrant wrong. Its interposition, merely on the ground of a difference of opinion on questions of policy between the Executive and Legislature, has always been regarded in theory as it is in fact, an usurpation, an abuse of the trust reposed by the Constitution in the Governor of a State. In the present instance, there was no hasty or excited legislation. It was the growth of more than a quarter of a century of calm investigation, of deliberate reflection on the part of the people. It was in strict accordance with a popular sentiment that had increased during the slow progress of years, from the smallest possible beginning, until it pervaded the public mind of the whole State. The subject had been before the Legislature for many sessions. Last year it passed one branch of the Legislature, and was lost in the other by only a few votes. This year it passed both Houses by an overwhelming majority. It was before the Legislature for three months, and was the subject of deliberate scrutiny and protracted debate. There was neither haste nor excitement connected with its passage. Its history demonstrates that it was the result of calm, deliberate, anxious reflection and a rigid scrutiny. Moreover, the Governor himself, impressed upon the Legislature in his opening Message, the subject of a temperance law; and we submit that when that Legislature acted in pursuance of his suggestion, calmly, deliberately, and with a degree of unanimity rarely seen on questions of public policy, it was a gross usurpation on his part, an abuse of his trust, to nulify its action and thwart its judgment by thus interposing his Veto."

Of the first objection to the bill, that it is in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and, of what the the Governor is pleased to term the rights of the State, they say the Governor must have known that the provisions of the Constitution to which he refers, have no relation to the powers of the State, being only limits of the general government; so decided in the Courts; while, what he terms the Bill of Rights, is but a common Legislative act, subject to repeal by any Legislature; and yet, instead of conflicting with that Bill, it is in strict conformity with it. No search and seizure directed, is in the least unreasonable or differing from searches and seizures in other cases. They further say:

"In regard to the second proposition, viz: That no warrant should issue but upon probable cause, supported by *"oath or affirmation,"* it will be seen by the section quoted, the warrant can only issue *"upon complaint in writing,"* that such complaint must be verified by the oaths of *"two credible witnesses of the town."* It must state *"the facts and circumstances"* upon which the complaint is founded. The magistrate before whom the complaint is made must weigh these *"facts and circumstances,"* and determine judicially the precise thing contemplated by the Bill of Rights, viz: Whether there is *"probable cause"* for issuing the warrant of search. In this respect we submit there is perfect harmony between the section quoted and the Bill of Rights.

In reference to the third proposition of the Bill of Rights as quoted, viz: *"That the places be searched, and the things be seized should be designated."* The section under consideration expressly requires that the place to be searched shall *"be designated in the warrant."* It requires also that it shall designate the things to be searched for and seized, viz: *"Intoxicating liquors and the vessels in which they are contained."* In this respect, also, we submit that the section is in strict accordance with the letter, as well as the spirit of the Bill of Rights."

To the Governor's second objection, that the law reverses every principle of evidence and justice, they reply :

" We affirm that it does no such thing. That it creates no new rule of evidence, nor does it conflict with any old one, but is in strict accordance with principles perfectly familiar to every lawyer of decent standing in the profession in the State. In regard to the first portion of the section which declares that " proof of the sale of liquor shall be sufficient to sustain an averment of unlawful sale," it will be remembered that this statute begins with a general prohibition against all sales of intoxicating liquors. It establishes a general rule which makes ALL sales illegal. It declares ALL sales unlawful. It then makes certain exceptions to this general prohibition, and provides that under certain circumstances the sale may be lawful. The general principle of the law then is, that men, shall not sell intoxicating drinks. The exception is, that under certain circumstances they *may* sell. The sale being proved, the general prohibition attaches ; the person prosecuted brings himself by his proof within the exception, and his defence is perfect. This is no new or strange principle. It is one that has prevailed for centuries and in harmony with the theory of the common law on the subject of evidence.

" In regard to the latter part of the section which provides that when an unlawful sale is alleged and a delivery proved, it shall not be necessary to prove payment, but such delivery shall be sufficient evidence of sale.— This, we affirm, is no new principle, but on the contrary, one well understood and applied every day in the Courts. A brewer sues a customer for a barrel of beer sold ; he proves a delivery ; the law implies a sale, and he recovers. A liquor merchant sues for a cask of brandy sold ; he proves a delivery ; the law implies a sale and he recovers."

To the third objection, that the bill requiring the destruction and forfeiture of the liquor is unconstitutional, they reply by stating, that it almost exactly corresponds with the manner in which property is destroyed in Custom-house seizures, gambling and counterfeiting establishments, tax gatherer's levies, &c., &c. A fourth important point with Gov. Seymour is, that the law might compel a man to testify against himself. The reviewers are astonished that the Governor, with the Constitution in his hands, should so dwell upon this ; as whatever the law might be, such a point would, and must be, in every court, held null and void. In conclusion, the reviewers ask :

" What will the friends of this great measure of reform do ? Will they be discouraged by a single failure ? Will they yield now when success—when the triumph of the right is so clearly within their reach ? Will they permit this one disappointment to weaken their efforts and banish hope from their hearts ? We answer, No !—a hundred times, No ! This great cause is the cause of virtue—of morality—of religion—of social progress—of humanity itself ! And though it were a thousand times stricken down, it will rise again to a glorious triumph at last. It is above all political considerations, superior to all party responsibilities. It appeals alike to the interests and the duty of the masses of the people. Its success will relieve labor from a mighty burthen of taxation. It will carry comfort to thousands and tens of thousands of families, and hope and happiness to the hearts of millions in the future, who

would else go down in sorrow to their graves. It will remove the most pregnant cause of pauperism and crime, and save countless numbers from the destruction that hovers over the life of the inebriate. Let no friend of the cause, then, relax any effort to carry it forward. A single man has stood between the will of the people, clearly expressed, and the accomplishment of their purpose on this subject. That will, founded as it is on the principles of eternal truth—upon the profoundest wisdom, and looking to the greatest possible good of the people, will not change.”

The subject now reverts again to the people, the seat of power, who must and will come up again like the returning wave of the ocean with accumulated power, and sweep away every appearance of resistance.

If in other States, the struggle has not, in the year, been as momentous and exciting as in the State of New York, still it has evinced a spirit determined to prevail. In Connecticut it has formed the great question at the ballot box, and a large majority of both houses of the Legislature is returned for the law. It being left to this body to elect the Governor of the State, they have placed in the Chair a gentleman decidedly in its favor. In his opening message within a few days, Gov. Dutton has expressed the most satisfactory opinions. On the Constitutional question he has been pleased to remark :

“The constitutionality of such a law has been questioned by men of high legal and political standing. But after a thorough examination of the question, I do not entertain the slightest doubt that such a law is not unconstitutional—that it does not conflict with any provision either in the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, and that it does not interfere in the least with any natural rights which may be supposed to exist, prior to and superior to any constitution or law. Experience has abundantly proved, that if there is any law on the subject, it should be stringent and effectual. Any attempt to legalize the sale of spirituous liquors, and then regulate and control it by fines, penalties, or other punishments for a violation of the rules prescribed, only aggravates the evil which it is designed to cure. Any law, to be effectual, must necessarily confer upon the proper authorities the power to seize, condemn and destroy the offending articles. It must authorize, under reasonable rules and restrictions, a search for it in stores and dwelling houses, where there is actual or presumptive evidence to show that the law has been violated—it must authorize the use of presumptive evidence, when positive proof cannot be obtained, or however penal it may be in other respects, it will soon become a dead letter.”

On the objectionable clause, relating to forfeiture of property, he said :

“Forfeiture of property for criminal offences, and even for violations of statutes, is as ancient as the common law itself. Every penalty imposed by law amounts to the same thing; for what difference can it make to a citizen whether he is confined in jail, by law, till he pays one hundred dollars, or whether a horse is taken from him by law, worth one hundred dollars? And what difference does it make to him whether the horse is sold, and the money

paid into the treasury, or whether it is killed? If a man, by violation of law, can forfeit his liberty, and even his life, can he not, for a similar reason, forfeit his property? Is a cask of liquor to be regarded as more sacred than liberty and life? The legislature of this State have, time after time provided that articles used in violation of law, might be searched for, seized and destroyed, and no suggestion was ever made that these laws were unconstitutional."

On one of the positions of Gov. Seymour, of New York, he severely reflected :

"It has been said by a high dignitary in a neighboring State, that a 'man's house is his castle,' that 'it cannot legally be searched, although the occupant is charged with treason or murder,' and that the 'only deviation' from this principle 'is in cases of searches for stolen property, which are allowed upon the ground that they are designed to restore it to its lawful owners.' I know of no such rule in any system of jurisprudence. It is contrary to the whole spirit of the common law. A dwelling-house is a castle to peaceable, law-abiding citizens; not a citadel for enemies of the State. Such a doctrine as that contended for, would enable a man to make his house an asylum for felons, and a depot for the tools of counterfeitters and burglars. Any malicious villain could, by filling his place of residence in a populous city with casks apparently containing powder, and barring his doors against the police, strike terror into the inhabitants, and drive them from their homes."

Law, in the opinion of Gov. Dutton, has no terror for the innocent :

"Sober, industrious, peaceable, patriotic citizens, demand stringent laws. They have no fears of sheriffs or magistrates. Their domicils are as secure from intrusion, and their property from seizure, under a prohibitory liquor law, as under a law against swindling. Legislatures and jurists ought to regard the wishes of this class, rather than of those who never look at a law, except to see how to evade it."

In New Jersey, the struggle of the friends of the law has been severe, but they have met with no favor in the political circles. Both branches of the Legislature have been decidedly opposed. In Pennsylvania strong expectations were indulged, that a Maine Law would have become, the past winter, the law of the State. The election throughout the State gave great promise of good. A prohibitory bill passed the House by a vote of 50 to 46, and in the Senate it was passed to a third reading by a vote of 19 to 13. But individuals, chosen with this great object in view, were not found reliable at the seat of political influence, and the bill was lost by a vote of 15 to 16 in the Senate. The subject, however, stands referred to a popular vote in October next, when the people may express their approbation and disapprobation at the ballot box. As the vote, however, will determine nothing, it must fail to excite any great enthusiasm. The four German counties are shrouded in thick

darkness, but the most of the State, especially the cities of Philadelphia in the east, and Pittsburg at the west, by strong majorities go for the prohibitory law. An important decision has been made in the State, declaring that the license law does not cover the Sunday traffic. This will leave the licensed houses unprotected by law in the Sabbath trade, and expose such as open their shops or bars and sell to any, to heavy penalties. The tone of the temperance public is now high in the State. In an eloquent speech in the Legislature, the Hon. Mr. Poulson said :

“ I conceive that the time has arrived for legislation upon this subject, and that time is now. To say that intemperance is an evil, would be saying what every man woman and child will readily admit; and to say that intoxicating drink is the cause of intemperance, is also saying what no living man will deny. Intemperance produces either directly or indirectly much the largest part of the misery and wretchedness in our own happy country. Its blighting, withering influence is seen and felt in every grade of society. There is not a gentleman on this floor, I am satisfied, but can call to his mind in his own recollection, some FRIEND, some LOVED acquaintance, whose bright future has been hopelessly blasted by the vice of intemperance. Well authenticated facts go to prove that one-half of the unhappy MANIACS in the world are made so by intoxicating drinks. Then, sir, these evils being the acknowledged result of the use of, and traffic in such a business, does not every feeling of HUMANITY cry aloud for the correction of the evil by the removal of the CAUSE? REMOVE THE CAUSE, AND THE EFFECT MUST CEASE. The people are ready for it—the people ask for it—the people demand it. Well sir, how do they ask us to abate it? It is not asked by a few, nor by a LARGE MINORITY, that we should pass an ABSOLUTE UNCONDITIONAL LAW to deprive the majority of any right or privilege which they now enjoy—to deprive them of drinking when and what they please. But they do ask us to pass an act PROVIDING for the removal of the evils under which they imagine that their friends and fellow citizens are suffering, when the majority of the qualified voters in our Commonwealth, shall have decided in favor of said act—in favor of said removal—in favor of said abatement. Is there anything unjust, unreasonable, or ANTI-DEMOCRATIC in this request? Do we not all maintain the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number? Then, sir, let us pass this bill, and let the people vote upon its provisions, and if the mighty people, the majority of the people, sustain its provisions, then it is right that it should become a law. But if they decide against it, then its friends will do as parties do when defeated, PICK their FLINTS and try again.

“ Sir, I have been threatened in my own county, that no man who voted for this law, would ever return here again; but I care not for that. I have no compromises to make upon this subject; I shall do what I conceive to be right and just; I shall obey the dictates of humanity, and ‘GOD RATHER THAN MAN.’ ”

In Maryland, a surprising revolution has been witnessed, especially in the city of Baltimore. In 1853 the entire city representation in the Legislature were opposed to a prohibitory statute; but, in the present year, they are unanimous for it; and hence it was anticipated that it would meet with success. But the law was so amended in the House, as to

prevent its going into operation until May, 1856, and requiring its approval by the direct vote of the people. Yet the State is fast ripening to an utter extermination of the traffic.

In the District of Columbia, the Common Council of Washington City, have adopted the following joint resolution in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquors :

Resolved, &c., That the Committee, representing the interest of this corporation before Congress, be, and it is hereby instructed to urge upon that body such amendment to the city charter, as will give these councils the power to enact such laws as will prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within the city limits. Approved, January 20, 1854.

Such an expression from the Common Council of the capitol of the nation, where there is the greatest temptation to the sale of intoxicating liquors, is a token for good to our republic, beyond estimate. A Maine Law, holding in check and rooting out intemperance there, might not only save to the nation millions of dollars, and Representatives and Senators of brightest minds ; but the nation itself from plunging into the greatest embarrassment and most unwise, because uncalled for, cruel wars.

In Ohio more labor has been performed than in most States of the Union, yet, it was feared, from the complexion of the Legislature chosen, almost in vain. But so it has not proved. Whether from hostility to the Maine Law or to protect a few interests exempted from destruction, is not manifest, and is of little moment ; a law of great stringency has passed both Houses and gone into operation. It prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors in the State to be drank on the premises, with the exception of beer, cider, and wine manufactured from the juice of the grape grown in the State ; forbids all sale to minors and intemperate persons, and declares all places where law is violated, a nuisance, and holds the vender responsible for all damages done by his traffic. Penalties are severe, both by fine and imprisonment. While its exceptions will keep up drunkenness, in the State, its positive statutes if thoroughly enforced, must place Ohio in a strong contiguity to the State of Maine. Great credit is due for the advance of the cause in this State, to the unwearied labors and eloquence of Gen. S. F. Cary of Cincinnati, and in the Legislature to John A. Foot, Esq., Senator from Cleveland. The latter gentleman, in the Senate made the following pungent remarks :

“ Up to this time we have proceeded upon the erroneous principle of *regulating* this traffic. This bill *eradicates* it. Regarding it as an unmitigated evil, we treat it as we would an eating cancer or a decayed tooth in the human system, and propose to take it out by the roots.

“ But we war not alone upon the article. This bill treats the manufacturer and the seller as a criminal, and punishes him with fines and imprisonment. Suppose a man should introduce into this city a numerous pack of mad dogs, station them in the saloons, at every tavern, in every drinking house along your streets, in the immediate vicinity of your Senatorial caucuses, under the tables where you meet to glorify over victory, and even set apart and give some of the more beautiful ones to some of the ladies, to be unleashed at their parties ! Suppose his confederates should supply every city and town in this noble State in as full and ample a manner ! Suppose further, that it was as fashionable and pleasant, and at first as exhilarating to be bitten by these animals, as it is now to use intoxicating drinks, and that all the ills and only the ills which flow from such use were the consequence of such bites ! Do you think it would take us long to decide whether we would destroy these dogs ; whether we would punish their importers and owners ? I tell you, Nay. Would fines and imprisonment be regarded as too severe for such offences ? I tell you, Nay. Would constitutional scruples save the dogs or secure the owner from punishment ? I tell you, Nay. The principle of self-preservation—of preservation of family and of loved ones—would justify the extermination of the animals, while the Penitentiary would be deemed too good a place for the criminal authors of the mischief. We were startled the other day by the news from New Lisbon—not that an interesting young man had fallen dead from the effects of strong drink—but that that staid community, becoming frenzied at the sight and its cause, had summarily executed this law upon all the liquor shops of the place.

“ Were these dogs abroad, and did we know that their bite had turned the once loving husband into a fiend, that he had driven a wife and children into the street at midnight ;—that, in another instance, it had ruined one in whom were centered all the hopes of a fond and widowed parent ;—in another, that it had steeled the heart and nerved the arm of a burglar and an assassin ; that it was covering our land with crime, and poverty, and wretchedness, and death, and piling on our taxes until we were groaning under their burdens. Should we set here “ deliberating in cold debate ? ” I tell you, Nay. But we should be out executing—summarily executing such a law as this. Why then do we hesitate to pass such a law ? Simply because our eyes are not opened—simply because the mischief is done by liquor instead of dogs—simply because our fathers and ourselves have had wrong views and wrong laws with reference to it.

In the Capital of Indiana, no less than 1100 delegates assembled in January last,—resolved on having a Maine Law for the State, and raised the sum of 12,000 dollars to secure it. In an address to the people of the State they said :

“ We have 34,000 square miles of as rich and productive land as is to be found in any country. Here are as many inducements to labor and enterprise as exist in any State. The blessings of health, as the country becomes more and more improved, are enjoyed to an extent equal to any portion of the Great West. We have a school fund surpassing in amount that of many of our older Sister States.—We are engaged in the construction of railroads in (almost every direction) which, when completed, will bear our rich productions to a more remunerative market than has heretofore been experienced.

“ Notwithstanding all this, however, there exists among us an appalling evil which brings blight, misery, crime, and premature death to thousands of our countrymen ; which fills our jails and penitentiaries with criminals ; our benevolent institutions with the idiotic and insane. and our poor-houses with

suffering humanity. It increases the taxes of the citizen ; it endangers the life of the peaceable man as he returns home from his labor ; it paralyzes the hand that would otherwise add thousands to the wealth of the State. In short, it brings nothing else than woes untold and innumerable, and with it not one single good. The monster that does all this is *Intemperance*, created as it is, by the traffic in intoxicating liquors. Why shall it not be banished from our land ?

“Let it be done, and look at the good to be accomplished. It would facilitate the cultivation of the millions of acres, now untouched by the husbandman ; it would increase that health we now possess ; it would enable us to carry out our system of Free Schools, until, in a short time, there would be no one unable to read and write ; it would push forward our railroad enterprise to a more rapid completion, and it would empty our jails and penitentiaries. The vacant stare of the idiot, and the wild yell of the maniac would be less frequently seen and heard. No longer would our children be seduced from the paths of safety and of honor, to become the most loathed of human beings, and no longer would the wail of heart-broken wives of drunken husbands be heard in the land—and the cries of their children, starving for bread, would be hushed forever !”

Since the issue of the address, the utmost activity has prevailed among the friends of the cause in the State ; tracts have been widely circulated, large numbers of which have been furnished from this office, and numerous eloquent speakers have been employed and not without a manifestly increasing public sentiment in favor of the law. Other States, more especially Illinois, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Iowa, Delaware, and the two Carolinas, are aiming at the same protection ; and, if we are not greatly deceived, they and all the States, (it is even now conceded by its opposers,) will enjoy this great change in the system of legislation, and see the traffic in intoxicating liquors placed side by side with lottery dealing, gambling, counterfeiting, and other nuisances which are not suffered to infest human society.

Nor is our country alone to be blessed. Other countries and nations shall enjoy the same protection. The flame has spread across the Atlantic, and friends of humanity in Britain are already sanguine that Britain's curse will be removed.

On the first of last June, was formed at Manchester, England, the UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE, for procuring the total and immediate Legislative suppression of the traffic in all intoxicating liquors as beverages. On the 16th, a manifesto address was issued to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and, at the first meeting of the General Council, held October 26, at which, at least one hundred distinguished gentlemen were present from various parts of the kingdom, the following declaration of principles was made :

I.—That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection and sanction to any Traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste

the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.

II.—That the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive of the order and welfare of society, and ought therefore to be prohibited.

III.—That the history and results of all past legislation, in regard to the Liquor Traffic, abundantly prove that it is impossible, satisfactorily to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

IV.—That no consideration of private gain or public revenue, can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in result, as the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors.

V.—That the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

VI.—That the Legislative Suppression of the Liquor Traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.

VII.—That, rising above class, sectarian or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment, prohibiting the sale of Intoxicating Beverages, as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of Intemperance.

This Alliance is not confined to professed total abstainers, but is open to all who are ready to unite in a warfare against the traffic; and hence, while its life is in the temperance associations of the kingdom, it is dissociated from them in this its peculiar structure. A distinguished Baronet, Sir Walter E. Trevelyan, was made President of the Alliance. William Gauthorpe and Thomas H. Barker, Secretaries. Three hundred and fifty names have been enrolled on the list of General Council, including a large number of clergymen, ministers of the Gospel, magistrates, medical men, able writers and public speakers. 100,000 copies of their address have been put in circulation. An original series of Maine Law Tracts is in course of preparation, and large public meetings have been held in the great centres of population. Though dissociated, most of the prominent Temperance Associations, the National Temperance Society in London, the British Association for the promotion of Temperance at York, the Bristol Conference, the Glasgow and Edinburg Leagues, and numerous distinguished gentlemen in the private walks of life, have expressed a strong and decided interest in its object; and recently, auxiliary Alliances have been formed with great enthusiasm in Edinburg, Glasgow, Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom. At the formation of the Edinburg auxiliary, in March, Sir Walter Trevelyan, Bart. said:

“This association is directed against one of the greatest tyrannies that exists on the face of the globe, (cheers)—a tyranny which does its best first to fascinate and then corrupt and ruin its victims—and when it has succeeded in doing this—then, with those whom it has not hurried to an untimely grave,

it fills the jails and work-houses, the infirmaries and mad-houses—for it is not satisfied with corrupting only the morals and religious feelings of its victims, but ruins also the health both of mind and body. Those whom this tyranny does not succeed in corrupting and ruining, it most iniquitously taxes with the expense of the jails and work-houses, for the support in idleness of its victims thus incarcerated. This wicked tyranny also succeeds but too well in drawing into its vortex fresh victims, even from the schools and churches which it might have been hoped would have saved them from its net—but as long as its schools of vice are allowed to spring up at all, especially as they do, far out-numbering all other schools and churches—it must be but too successful in counteracting all the attempts to save or reclaim its poor deluded victims. I will ask you, then, if such a tyranny as I have described exists, whether it is not one that we should endeavor, to the utmost of our power, to overthrow, and to save our country from its thralldom? (Applause.) That is the object of this association, which I trust you will support; it aims at measures which have been introduced in countries where the same tyranny prevailed, and which have succeeded in overthrowing it; and then, as a natural consequence, the jails and work-houses, the infirmaries and mad-houses, have lost the greater part of their inmates; all the people have improved in health of mind and body, in happiness and prosperity, in virtue and religion. The schools of vice being removed, the other schools and churches have been able to exert their beneficent and improving influence with better effect; and such I am satisfied would also be the effect in our beloved country, if the endeavors of the Alliance against the tyranny of the whole system of traffic in intoxicating liquor should prove successful, which, with your aid and perseverance, I have no doubt they must eventually prove. (Applause.) Truth, is more powerful than error, and under the Divine blessing must eventually succeed.”

The Right Honorable the Earl of Harrington has declared himself decidedly in favor of a Maine Law as the only hope of England. Said his Lordship, in a speech at Derby :

“ We have undertaken a mighty task in attacking the habits, tastes, interests, and vices of mankind, and one of the greatest sources of our revenue. The evil complained of, is drunkenness; it is the great blot on the Anglo-Saxon race; wherever they go they introduce this habit—to America, Canada, British India, and China—no country escapes. Thus our Constitution, which is the shining light of the world, is sullied by this vice. The first remedy is in teetotalism. (His Lordship here showed its effect in Ireland under Father Mathew.) The second is to prevent all traffic in strong liquors on Sunday. This is being done in Scotland. Lord Palmerston is said to be favorable to the measure. The third and more complete remedy, is the Maine Law, which prohibits all traffic in strong liquors; but permits their consumption in private houses. In 1851 the Maine Law was passed, and has extended to other States. It is supported by the most distinguished philosophers, statesmen, judges, and medical men of America. In 1852 it was passed in New Brunswick, and has received the Queen’s sign manual. In the Canadian Parliament it was only lost by four votes. This Maine Law has gone far to destroy poverty, insanity, and crime. In Portland the work-house and jail are nearly empty; the house of correction was to let. There was a great question now under consideration; it is this,—What is to be done with our convicts? Are they to be let loose to propagate their principles, and stir up *emutes* as in Paris? The answer is plain,—Abolish the traffic which produces nine-tenths

of these convicts; enact the Maine Law. There is still a great difficulty to be overcome. How is the revenue to be made good under the Maine Law? How is Mr. Gladstone to be bribed? The answer is, that part of it would still be collected—part would arise from the savings on prisoners, penal settlements, police, mad-houses, and poor-houses. From the capital arising out of extra labor, the improved health of a vigorous race of men, and the profits arising out of a part of the fifty millions of money now expended in drink, the people would be enriched, which is the great source of the wealth of nations."

Members of Parliament and eminent men, are beginning to allude to this new system of legislation as promising to effect more in a short time, than ever has been effected by the power of moral suasion. "I believe," said Lord Elgin, in a late visit to England, "that it is destined to work a very great change on the face of society." And, says an able British writer :

"The waves of this agitation are approaching our own shores. It is clear that our present system of license cannot long continue. It must give way to some more complete control, or, as is advocated by some, we must abandon all attempts at restriction. It will be a source of just pride for America, if she prove the first to have adopted the true policy. While some here will, no doubt, hesitate at embarking on so bold a course of legislation, there are thousands, on the other hand, who will abandon all abstract differences of principle, in favor of the great and paramount necessity. In their view, the limb is diseased; to hesitate or falter is death. In the face of a monstrous evil, paralyzing the industrial and social, as well as the moral energies of the country, no delicate scruple of conscience can be suffered for a moment to set aside the popular necessity. *Salus populi suprema lex.*"

Can the traffic in intoxicating drinks, as a beverage, in Great Britain, ever be put down by law? It is a great question which, perhaps, time alone can solve. Here is a truly gigantic power. But so was the African slave trade. It involves vast pecuniary interests. So did the African slave trade. But what then? It has a giant, moral wrong, and the British conscience, goaded by Wilberforce and his companions, was roused, and it cried out, Shame on the men, who, by this craft have their wealth, and Woe to the nation or people that build a town or city with blood.

In the United Kingdom, there were, in 1853, 91,132 publicans or venders of ardent spirits, and 44,139 beer sellers, in all, 135,271 traffickers; men who lived on the misery and ruin of their fellow creatures, while they often laid down their own lives in the horrid service. Passing chiefly through their hands, there went in a single year, the year 1853, for the consumption, and destruction too, of the people, and on which some tax was paid, 30,164,641 gallons of ardent spirits, costing the consumer £26,000,000; of wine, 6,813,831 gallons, costing £5,000,000; and 17,584,032 bar-

rels of beer, costing, 1s. 2d. per gallon, £36,000,000 ; in all, 655,000,000 gallons of intoxicating drink, in which £67,000,000 sterling was expended ; all producing the most appalling scenes of vice, degradation, drunkenness, murder, waste of human intellect, of human life, and immortal souls. To check, and restrain, and destroy this great destroyer, a zeal and devotedness have been devoted in the past, as in many former years, worthy of that land of Bibles and Sabbaths. Millions of temperance publications have been scattered in every part of the United Kingdom ; numerous public meetings have been held ; sermons preached and lectures given. Our countryman, Mr. John B. Gough, has addressed thousands on thousands of all classes, rousing attention by his peculiar powers, and reaching, as few men can reach, the public heart ; and if to the eye of some, there is not an immediate and sensible diminution of the gigantic evil, yet, comparing one period with another, it is manifest the THRONE OF INIQUITY established by law, is undermined, and is falling, and will come to an end. From 1835 to 1839, there were used in the United Kingdom, 185,126,420 bushels of malt ; but during the last five years, from 1849 to 1853, there were used but 159,709,227 bushels ; making a decrease of 25,000,000 bushels. In the same years, from 1835 to 1839, 127,000,000 gallons of British spirits were entered for home consumption ; but from 1848 to 1852, but 117,000,000 gallons, making a decrease of 10,000,000 gallons ; while there has been a great increase of population. In 1841 the population in round numbers, was 25,000,000, while in 1851 it was 27,000,000. Drunkenness and crime are manifestly on the wane. In the year 1831, there were 31,000 commitments in London for drunkenness, while in 1841 there were only 15,000, and in 1851, the number was still further reduced, there being only 10,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledges a diminution of revenue from the Excise in Scotland. The Scottish League has a subscription list of 4047 members with 269 societies ; and the Scottish ministry hitherto great indulgers, are rapidly renouncing all connexion with the intoxicating cup. A Public House bill passed for Scotland, has closed entirely the Sunday traffic, and the happiest results are now anticipated. The same is demanded for the entire Kingdom. In the North of Ireland, the Maine Law movement has gained no small prominence. An auxiliary has been formed at Dublin. In the South, the venerable Father Mathew yet lives to exert a healthful influence. A recent Act of Parliament putting a stop to all future transmission of criminals to the distant colonies, had

filled the minds of distinguished men with anxiety, and the question has arisen, What shall we do with so many criminals at home? The reply is,—“Adopt the Maine Law and have no criminals. Suppress the cause of crime, and the country will be safe.” Says an eloquent writer and preacher, Rev. Dr. Guthrie :

“I confess I rejoice to hear these groans of difficulty, and to see the raising of this discussion in Parliament, because it must have the effect of driving our Legislators to our true, and noble, and Christian motto: ‘Prevention is better than cure.’ The reply of your Committee to the question of the noble Lords, Panmure and Carlisle,—What must we do with the convicts?—is simple, practical, and pertinent; *abolish the traffic that produces probably nine-tenths of them!* The result of the operation of the Maine Liquor Law in America, in reducing already the criminal cases from 75 to 50 per cent., should give to sagacious statesmen the key to unlock this and a thousand other difficulties. Twelve months after the enforcement of the Anti-Liquor Law of the State of Maine, the Mayor’s report for the city of Portland announced, that *their House of Correction was empty*. Previous to the Law, their authorities did not know how to dispose of their criminals.”

In the British Provinces no less zeal and spirit is manifested for a prohibitory law, than in the mother country and the United States. In the Canadian Parliament it was lost in 1853, but by four votes. Since that, the agitation has greatly increased. The activity and zeal of the Montreal Society, under John Dougal, Esq., its President, sustained by men of wealth and high standing in Society, in scattering documents and sustaining able lecturers in Lower Canada, is beyond praise. The Canadian League at Toronto, and the order of the Sons of Temperance in Upper Canada, have done but little less. In the service of both, our countryman F. W. Kellogg, has been steadily employed as a lecturer in the last six months; and wherever he has travelled, he reports meetings numerously attended, and an enthusiastic feeling in favor of a Maine Law. In the Province of New Brunswick, where a strong prohibitory statute was passed in 1853, and sanctioned by the Queen, some reverses have been experienced, but in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward’s Island there has been advance, and, in the latter, the Parliament have adopted, virtually, a Maine Law. In Australia too, a distant part of Her Majesty’s dominions, the same spirit of resistance to this great tyranny, Intemperance, has commenced, and here has been formed under the auspices of the Hon. William a’ Becket, the Chief Justice, The VICTORIA LIQUOR LAW LEAGUE. Said that distinguished man in a late visit to the mother country :

“From the plenty of money, Australia is the most drunken country in the world, and nine-tenths of the cases of crime which came before me,

were the result of intoxication. So long as the public house *stands*, so long as spirits, wine, or strong beer can be bought, they will continue to be bought by the class to whom they are most dangerous, and nothing but the entire *impossibility* of the supply will ever fit their minds to be the recipients of anything better than now fills them, either in intellect, morals or taste. The same thing may be said of England. For this reason, I would advocate here, as I did in Australia, the principle of the Maine Law."

In Buenos Ayres, the strong hand of government is laid upon the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and no liquor can be sold to be drunk in public. In the Sandwich Islands, a prohibitory law is and has been a part of the Constitution of the State, and would be perfectly enforced, but for the power of French cannon. Into the Colony of Liberia, no person may introduce or sell any intoxicating drinks. Throughout Sweden, has been in the past year, what may be termed, a Maine Law agitation. The people have risen in masses and demanded protection. In the Province of Blekinge they marched about, extinguishing the fires of the distilleries, and "some poor persons in my neighborhood," writes Rev. C. Bergman, "have determined to set out on foot 360 miles to the king," to beg him to "take away the brandy," because they "have not strength to resist the temptation."

King Oscar himself has called attention to the subject from the throne, and demanded the destruction of distilleries now wasting the breadstuffs of the country, and destroying the health and lives of the people. British India, too, is arraying herself by her millions on millions against the deadly traffic in the British license system, by which native Hindoos, in defiance of their Hindoo law and religion, are authorized to sell intoxicating drinks, and, as the result, intemperance has widely spread. At the last annual meeting of the Bombay Temperance Society strong resolutions were adopted against the license system, and in favor of the principles of the United Kingdom Alliance in Great Britain for a Maine Law. In reference to the license system—

"On motion of the Rev. N. Sheshadri, seconded by Mr. Hurree Kessowjee:

"*Resolved*, That, adopting the language employed by the Missionaries of Western India in their recent memorial to Parliament, this meeting 'contemplate with exceeding alarm the state of intemperance among the Natives of Western India; it being an undoubted and melancholy fact that intemperance has greatly increased for years past, and is still rapidly increasing. We are convinced that the licensing system at present in operation, tends to the increase of the fearful evil of intemperance, especially because it removes the stigma of disgrace which the Native Governments and the Natives generally, have hitherto attached to it;' and we 'cannot divest ourselves of the apprehension that unless recourse be had to some more potent check than any now in operation, the most frightful demoralization and degradation, are, in consequence, inevitable throughout a large portion of the Native community.'

“ On motion of the Rev. Geo. Bowen, seconded by Mr. Byramjee Dadabhoy :

“ *Resolved*, That this meeting express their hearty concurrence in the declaration of the General Council of the United Kingdom Alliance for the suppression of the Liquor Traffic, viz :

“ That the Legislative prohibition of the Liquor Traffic is perfectly compatible with national liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

“ That the Legislative suppression of the Liquor Traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.”

The Indian tribes of our own country, over whom was extended, in 1834, by Gen. Jackson and the American Congress, the protecting care of entire prohibition, without any objection being made to its unconstitutionality, are, under its protecting influence, maintaining their position and rising to the rank of civilized nations. If any person refuses to have his or her whisky, or other ardent spirits destroyed by taking up arms, and if any of the light-horse-men, captains, or warriors, in self-defense, kill or destroy the life of the person or persons having whisky or other ardent spirits, he is to be protected. But should any offender kill or destroy the life of any person or persons who are engaged in assisting to destroy the whisky or other ardent spirits, such suffers death. Under these laws the Choctaw nation, which had dwindled from 40,000 down to 12,000, is reported to have risen up to 22,000, and is, in all respects, sober and temperate.

Your Committee, feeling the vast importance of the subject, have thus endeavored to give a condensed, but correct view of the great change which is now going on in these States and around the Globe in legislative action. The laws, which for centuries, have licensed the sale of intoxicating liquors, are fast being abandoned as legalizing a moral wrong and an unendurable evil, and prohibitory statutes are taking their place. Men are becoming satisfied of the hopelessness and folly of all attempts to fall back upon the power of mere moral suasion, or any possible well-enforced license system.

Unanimous is the voice of nature around the globe. In every nation, tongue, and tribe ; in every State and every clime ; among bond and free, Christian and Pagan, the heart exclaims—“ Protection is the birth-right of man :—It is the end of civil government ; the glory of law.” He only can object who, rolling up wealth in some iniquitous business, riots on the miseries of his fellow men. To those who talk about human rights and solemn constitutions of government, we cannot listen. The people are the Government. They know what they want. They know what they have a right

to ; and he is wanting in the spirit of a man who will submit to unendurable evils which, in a single pulsation, he can throw off ; or who fails to stretch forth his hand for the advancement of a higher good than he now enjoys.

Other incidents of great interest have occurred in the year, which should be carefully gathered in the records of temperance. In Great Britain a simultaneous movement has been made among all classes, for the suppression of the sale of intoxicating drinks on the Lord's day. No less than 1516 petitions with 279,112 signatures have been presented to Parliament and a Committee of distinguished members are in daily investigation into the causes and evils of intemperance. Successful endeavors have been made to conduct colonial emigration on temperance principles. A reduction of spirit drinking in the Royal Navy, has resulted in a marked diminution of disobedience and crime. A war tax has been imposed upon malt and spirits as articles which are not necessities of life, and the prices of spirits and beer have been raised. By the larger Societies, the National, the British Association, the London League, and the Scottish League, large public meetings have been sustained, and the nation has been flooded with placards, tracts, pamphlets, and books on the subject of temperance. More than ten valuable temperance journals are well sustained, while many of the secular papers of the day lend their columns to the cause. Continental Europe is in bondage to drunkenness. France abounds in intemperance with no effort for reform. No less than 770,000,000 gallons of wine, besides an immense quantity of brandy are consumed by that nation. In Germany, the public houses are forty times the number of places of public worship. In Prussia, 20,000,000 bushels of potatoes and 3,722,429 bushels of grain are annually consumed in the distilleries. In Sweden, the consumption of ardent spirits is 64 pints a head, and the prevalence of the *Alcoholismus chronicus* is frightful ; but, both the government and the reflective people are laboring earnestly to stay the plague.

Wherever the American Missionaries are, they are vigilant and active for the cause of temperance ; and missionary churches are, in general, the most temperate on the globe. The South India Journal is printed monthly at Madras, and the Temperance Repository, quarterly, at Bombay. At Chinbatoor, South India, there are 531 temperance pledged men. At Agra, wine and beer are banished from all Christian tables. In Armenia, total abstinence is a test of Protestantism and piety. The Societies of Africa are in good condition through Missionary vigilance. In Van Dieman's

Land, there is a great call for temperance tracts. In the Sandwich Islands and the newly discovered isles of the Pacific, temperance prevails and triumphs. In the West Indies, wherever the Christian Missionary is, there is temperance as well as Christianity. Among 3700 members of churches, and 1800 in Sunday Schools, at St. Kitts, nearly all are pledged to temperance. Our own country the past year, has been distinguished by numerous local and State Conventions, and more particularly by a second WORLD'S CONVENTION, which was held in the City of New York. More than 1500 persons of all classes were delegated to this body. The attendance, though not complete, was large. The Convention met at Metropolitan Hall on the 6th of September, and continued in session four days. The Hon. Neal Dow, of Portland, the distinguished author of the Maine Law, presided. England, Scotland, and other distant countries were represented. Numerous Committees were appointed to report upon important topics. A series of resolutions, touching the state of the cause, were ably discussed and adopted. In the evening of each day large public meetings were held in the Hall, which were addressed by able speakers. The harmony of the Convention was unfortunately disturbed by a controversy relative to the reception of female delegations, otherwise it was a Convention of signal interest and importance. A Committee of five were appointed to call a similar Convention at least once in two years.

The establishment of LEAGUES, called CARSON LEAGUES, after Mr. Thomas Carson, their projector, has formed no inconsiderable action of the year. Inasmuch as the Liquor Traffic in its results imposes a tax upon all the taxable property of the people, and that most unjustly, for the support of paupers and criminals made such by intemperance, the people are invited here to pledge the amount of their taxable property, or so much as they choose, to be assessed, a certain but very small amount, not exceeding half per cent. annually, for the creation of a fund for the support of the temperance cause, but more especially the prosecution of all who continue the traffic in violation of law. In several counties from three to four millions of property have been pledged; and while it equalizes the expense of sustaining the temperance cause, it furnishes all that is needed to prosecute effectually all violations of law, and bring the illegal traffic to an end.

The various Temperance Orders and Associations which have, in years past, filled a large place in the public eye, have continued their operations; but they have lost their *promi-*

nence in the greater prominence of the Maine Law movement, in which they have all harmoniously combined.

Ecclesiastical bodies have not been signalized by any temperance movements, excepting almost unanimous resolutions in favor of prohibitory statutes. The clergy of most denominations are decided and active for a Maine Law, and numerous and powerful sermons have been preached in its support.

No progress has been made in the abrogation of the spirit ration in the American Navy, and intemperance has increased among seamen in the merchant service.

The importation, exportation, and manufacture of intoxicating liquor, and the consequent expense of pauperism and crime has not essentially differed from that of former years, excepting in the States where the Maine Law prevails. There the difference is most distinctly marked. From July 1, 1851, to June 30, 1852, there were imported into the United States from foreign countries :

Wines in casks, valued at,	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,233,303
Wines in bottles, “	-	-	-	-	-	870,108
Foreign distilled spirits,	-	-	-	-	-	2,220,473
Beer, Ale, and Porter,	-	-	-	-	-	257,440

Exported the same year :

Spirits from grain, valued at,	-	-	-	-	-	\$48,737
Beer, Ale, Porter, and Cider,	-	-	-	-	-	48,052
Spirits from molasses,	-	-	-	-	-	323,949

Among the children and youth of our country, there has been no special movement; indeed it is to be feared that, in the almost universal effort for legal action, they are overlooked and forgotten, and that multitudes of young men are crowding into the drunkard's path. Our hope, for them as well as for seamen, must be in the speedy removal of all temptation.

The manufacture of wine from the native grape of our country, has become, especially in the State of Ohio, a great article of commerce. And a bold effort has been making and is now made to convince the public that the use of such wine would be favorable to the temperance of the country. The example of France and Italy are quoted. Those countries are pronounced free from drunkenness. The public are said to be satisfied with these wines, which do not intoxicate, and, could they become the common drink of America, drunkenness would die away. But the reasoning is not consonant with facts. The abundance of wine does not deter from the use of strong drink. In France, where are con-

sumed 770,000,000 gallons of wine, there are also drank an immense quantity of brandy and liquers, and intemperance abounds. In the States of the Zolverien (including Prussia), according to official returns, there is a yearly consumption of 367,000,000 of quarts of alcoholic liquor, at an expense of 122,000,000 of dollars. In the electorate of Hesse Cassel, more than half of the whole corn and potatoes requisite for the annual consumption, are turned into spirits, and in the entire North of Germany, the quantity of Brantwein (Brandy,) used, now threatens the whole land with destruction. It has increased ninefold in 35 years. (See transactions of the Congress for Inner Missions, 1852.) Here is the terrible fact, that, amid the light-wines of the Continent and where the juice of the grape is very abundant, the people resort to the stronger and more intoxicating liquors. The light wines do but lead the people on to the use of stronger stimulants. So it is believed it would prove in America, where the pulse beats quick and will not be satisfied with anything short of the highest stimulant. The argument in favor of the cultivation of the grape and the introduction of the light-wines of Europe, that it would greatly benefit the agriculture and commerce of the country, is equally applicable to the raising of hops, the manufacture of cider, and the distillation of grain. A business which is destructive to the morals, the health, and happiness of the community, does not and cannot compensate in the profit it may bring to a few individuals. On this subject the Committee are happy to see that the views of our friends in England accord with their own. Says a writer in the London Atlas, whom we quote with pleasure :

“An increase of industrial and commercial activity does not, of itself, justify any and every measure that will ensure it. War would keep the hammers of Birmingham in play day and night—should we, therefore, go to war on that account? The slave trade would enhance our revenue—shall we repeal the laws against that nefarious traffic? It is becoming understood that the industry which deals in materials adverse to the public good on the broadcast scale, is not a source of public profit, and should not, out of pecuniary short-sightedness, be made an object of public pursuit. Even regarded in a *ledger* light, the increase of intemperance through cheap wine might become a greater loss than gain by increasing idleness, inefficient labor, pauperism and crime. The history of all nations is an echoing gallery, resounding the truth that the gains of ungodly merchandize are gains bearing the brand of God. We have shown what may be expected from the anticipated consumption of cheap wines by our promiscuous population. But as philanthropists, another question is suggested to us: would the people of wine-growing countries derive benefit from the change? If it gave them no more employment than they now have, it could be no benefit to them, and if it increased their labor, would they, as a community, be better off? At present, the tendency in favor of uninebriating drinks is on the increase, and fearful will be the responsibil-

ity of those who assist in arresting this tendency, and diverting it towards a species of liquor peculiarly insidious. The dogma of its harmlessness we have exploded; and were it a thousand times less hurtful than it is, how inexpedient and unpatriotic to extend to any form of alcoholic stimulant that legislative encouragement which may be so much more beneficially conferred on really innocent and refreshing beverages, and which, if directed to the provision of abundant supplies of wholesome water, will procure the unanimous applause of a grateful people. It is our temperance creed that there is no hope for our race except in the total dietetic disuse of all intoxicating drinks, and every day's experience is burdened with evidence showing the facility with which the appetite for one kind of intoxicating stimulant passes into an appetite for another, and more fiery, until the cry of conscience, friendship, and religion, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther," falls as impotently on the inward craving as the mandate of Canute on the waves that dashed against his feet. So it is with individuals, so it will be with nations."

The farming interests of the country has been appealed to as exposed to much detriment from a Maine Law, which would inevitably close the distillery and the brewery, and would thus cut off one great market for its corn, grain, and fruits. How great this market comparatively is, may be seen from the fact that, while the corn crop of the United States in a single year was 592,326,612 bushels, but one bushel in 52 was distilled. How many interruptions to the work of the farmer, often make a diminution in his crop equal to one bushel in 52, without his knowing or feeling it! The farming interest with every other, could be none otherwise than greatly benefited by the universal banishment from the country of strong drink. "If we stop the distilleries," says an able writer and profound thinker, "it might possibly dry up for a season one small source of wealth to some, but it would open at once at least fifty others and larger in the shape of increased industry, time saved, value of labor, diminished pauperism, crime lessened, litigation saved, sickness avoided, to say nothing of that untold and unutterable anguish and misery concealed in the depths of the heart of the unhappy thousands, withered by the fiery breath of the monster."

The action of the press and of public speakers, who have devoted their time and talents to the cause, both in this and foreign countries, has not been exceeded in any former year, since the commencement of the great work. Mind and heart are increasingly interested as it rolls onward; and wherever light is poured into the public mind, there great and important revolutions occur in thought and action. Through the labors of the Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D., of Andover, Massachusetts, at the press, in the pulpit, and on the platform, it was that the attention of the nation was early turned to the magnitude of the evil under which

it was groaning, and the conscience roused to the enormity of the guilt which was daily incurred. As early as 1822 he published the Tract, *THE WELL CONDUCTED FARM*; and much through his influence and effort, the American Temperance Society, of which he was the first Secretary, was organized in 1826. In 1829, he left his pastoral charge and became its permanent Secretary; travelling throughout the length and breadth of the land, addressing public conventions, religious bodies and Legislatures; conferring with members of Congress, Governors of States, Heads of the National Departments and other influential men, and gathering up annually, in the form of Permanent Temperance documents, the great truths, facts, and operations in his path. In this arduous office, he continued incessantly laboring for nine years; and though otherwise occupied in the remainder of life, he was ever the firm friend, wise counsellor, and devoted advocate of the cause. In the year now passed, he has gone to his great reward; expiring at the Virginia Springs through a painful illness, on the 23d of July, 1853, at the age of 66; but leaving behind him in his Annual Reports and Temperance Manual an imperishable monument of rare intellectual strength, sound discretion, and deep piety, devoted to the rescue of a world from a gigantic moral evil.

Toiling in the same work, but now carrying up the building with shouts of triumph rather than laboring at its foundation stones, the Committee have done, in the year of his departure, what they could with limited means. To their last Annual Report, tracing the upward and onward prohibitory movement, and to the Report of the *WORLD'S TEMPERANCE CONVENTION* committed to them, they were able to give a wide circulation. But amid the numerous temperance papers in the States, both their *Journal* and *Youths Temperance Advocate* have had a diminished circulation. Their Tract operations have been gratifying; 739,100 of their four page, and 27,250 of their larger Tracts having been put in circulation and in nearly all the States of the Union. At the suggestion of the Committee, the Corresponding Secretary prepared an *APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC FROM WELL AUTHENTICATED RESULTS OF THE MAINE LAW*. Of this, 15,000 copies have been put in circulation here, and it has been republished and put in wide circulation in Great Britain. At a later period, 3,800 of *Strictures on Gov. Seymour's Veto* have been struck off and sent to various parts of the State. The Committee have kept four Agents in the field, lecturing in the cause, procuring subscriptions and donations, and distributing Tracts; the Rev. R. S. Crampton, who spent

most of the winter in the City, preaching in the churches to good acceptance but has now left their service ; Rev. Hiram Gregg, who left their employ to engage in the pastoral office, the Rev. John Hazlit still acting in Philadelphia, and Prof. Fairfield who commenced his labors a few weeks since in Western New York. Receipts from May 1, 1853, to April 30, 1854, in donations and collections, \$5,522 98. These have all been absorbed in expenditures and gifts. Could more have been gathered in, a much greater amount of good could have been this year accomplished as the public have been anxious for light. The Committee have only to express their gratitude to all who have aided them in their work, and to a kind Providence for all the precious results of their labors.

Did space and expense warrant, the Committee would delight in giving their own views more largely of some points relative to the advance of the cause now before the public ; but they must be content with recording, as they have endeavored to do, in the course of this Report, the opinions and sentiments of individuals and public bodies in their own language ;—and they are happy in this, as some of these opinions furnish the very best arguments in favor of truth, and most perfectly obviate all objections to our onward progress. There is one thought, however, which they must press upon the Union and all their auxiliaries in this hour, when we are seeking and receiving so much legislative aid ; and this is, That legislation is not and cannot be the great foundation stone of our building. If we have nothing better to rely upon to cause men to put away a great moral evil and live soberly, as men should live, than codes of civil law, made, sometimes by honest, and sometimes by crafty politicians, we may soon find that our foundation is on the sand, and our whole boasted edifice is prostrated, not by an angry tempest, but by the slightest breath of popular favor. Our struggle has been mighty to overthrow a “ throne of iniquity established by law,” and to procure laws which are just and true. And under God we are gloriously successful, But how are these laws to be observed and sustained, but by the virtue of an intelligent people—a full understanding of what lies at the foundations of human well being; and an elevation of all the physical and moral laws of the Creator as the rule of action ? “ Put not your confidence in princes,” rest in no civil power to check and curb the lusts and passions of men, is the voice of a thousand ages now lost in eternity. Demand we may, and thankful we may be for the protection of the civil arm against wicked men ; it

is essential to us ; but there are deeper foundations of security which must be ours, or all is lost. And, in the spirit of the age, a spirit which is now sweeping away all the old landmarks and rushing furiously on in new developments of nature and art ; a spirit glorying in everything that promises the destruction of all the sources of poverty, and degradation, and crime, and in the high elevation of human society over all that excites the commiseration of the philanthropist and the Christian, we may anticipate the readiest triumphs of all our principles ; but we may, too, find in that very spirit, if we are not firmly anchored in all the great principles of truth and righteousness, every hope of good swept away as chaff before the whirlwind. Our reform is not a change of fashion ;—a new form of dress ; a sumptuary law ; some positive enactment whose observance may be obeyed or disobeyed without either virtue or criminality ; it is a great moral work, involving vast responsibilities both to God and man, in which no man may or can be neutral ; and while its operation, in every stage of its progress is so valuable as to make it compensate for every sacrifice and toil, this is the least consideration to impel us to action. We look to the time when, through these temperance efforts, earth will be delivered from its greatest curse ; when men will no longer hinder their fellow men by the intoxicating cup from entering into the kingdom of God ; when the Sabbath will beam upon our world in all its serene and holy influences, and immortality, without sorrow and sin, the salvation of millions now perishing in pollution and shall guilt be the prize sought and the prize won. This we must keep strictly in view, and then we shall never falter, or tire. All other motives to action fall feebly upon man. What is it to us to labor and toil merely to dip water from the ocean, which will always be full ? What to snatch a few individuals from drunkenness and sin, and it may be elevate the world a few degrees in the scale of sobriety, economy, domestic peace, public prosperity, and if death is an eternal sleep, or there is no connection between the courses of life here and the rewards to be bestowed hereafter ? The eternal life, with all its tremendous responsibilities, impel us onward in our work of reform.

Whatever more can be done by them, the Committee are ready cheerfully to perform. For eighteen years they have now occupied their post, and seen almost an entire generation come upon the stage of action. At the World's Temperance Convention, a new National Organization was proposed and strenuously urged, but it was rejected by a

large vote as uncalled for, and therefore the American Temperance Union suppose it incumbent on them to hold their ground, and by their Journal, Reports, and other publications, do what they can in enlightening the public mind and concentrating public action.

And now, Brothers and Friends, all ye who are allied in this Union, all officers and members of State organizations, all their coadjutors and auxiliaries, all organizations and Alliances in the Canadas, in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, all friends and fellow laborers of every description, "Be of good courage, and play the man for yourselves and for the cities of our God." Be thankful to Him who has suffered this great work to grow up before your eyes, who has pointed out all the ways and means of its onward progress, given it friends and benefactors, removed obstructions, annihilated difficulties, caused light to arise out of darkness and joy out of trouble ; and who, in all that has been accomplished in the past, gives us assurance that the day shall dawn when not a drunkard shall be found upon earth, when all the thrones of iniquity, established by law, shall be overturned, and all the insidious, and complicated, and costly machinery, by which man is now converted into a brute and a fiend, shall pass away to be seen no more. Be thankful that you have not been left to hinder and oppose this work, but have been permitted and enabled to take in it a decided and an active part, and to contribute to it of your time, and your talents, and your money, and your influence ; and that you may yet live to give it a still higher propulsion before you pass to your reward. Whether as magistrates or citizens, rulers or ruled, whether as heads or members of families, pastors of churches, or members of the medical community, or placed in the tribunals of justice ; whether as allied to the army or navy of your country ; whether you are connected with all the great commercial and agricultural interests of the land, or are those who go down to the deep to do business in the great waters, let the cause of temperance lie near your hearts, for it is the cause of God and humanity. A continent and a world rise up before you to be blessed at your hand. Earth, groaning in bondage, craves deliverance. An entirely prohibitory law will now save us. For this, let us rally. For this, toil and labor wrongs no man. It injures none. It blesses all. It has indeed a thousand foes. But the labors and successes of the past are a pledge for the future. A great battle is to be fought ; but a mighty conquest is to be achieved. The Lord of Hosts is with us ; the God of Jacob is our defense.

APPENDIX.

EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY.

THE Eighteenth Anniversary of the American Temperance Union was held in the Broadway Tabernacle May 11th, 1854, William E. Dodge, Esq., in the Chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, of New York, after which, an abstract of the Annual Report was read by the Rev. Dr. Marsh, the Corresponding Secretary. The following resolutions were adopted, and addresses were made by the Hon. Thomas E. Powers, of Vermont, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn, Rev. T. L. Cuyler, Rev. Mr. Hatfield, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Dr. Cleveland, of Northampton, Mass. During the services, a collection of \$127 was taken, and a National Hymn was sung by all the congregation, standing.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That, in celebrating the Eighteenth Anniversary of the American Temperance Union, we feel called upon to take special cognizance of the good hand that has upheld and guided us; to offer up devout thanksgivings that no enemy arrayed against us has been suffered to prosper; that dark clouds have been dissipated; and that the prospect daily brightens of the ultimate triumph of the great truths on which we are based, and which we have long labored to promulgate.

Resolved, That the results of the Maine law in the removal of temptation, the saving of wasted money, the diminution of drunkenness and crime, the reformation of inebriates, the once desolated homes made happy, the repaired houses, improved farms, peaceful streets and quiet Sabbaths in the States of its adoption, and the fixed determination of large majorities of the people and their Legislators to hold on and resist all efforts to evade or repeal, show that God, of a truth, is with us; and afford assurance that every State, beholding the spectacle, will ultimately abandon the odious system of drunkard and pauper-making by laws of license, and secure protection by laws of prohibition.

Resolved, That the Legislation of the State of New York the past season, has shown an exalted state of moral principle and patriotism in those who have been elected to make laws for the people; and that the Veto of the temperance bill by the Governor of the State, for reasons which bear no examination and on unfounded assumptions of injury to the cause of temperance, is, in our opinion, a GREAT CIVIL AND MORAL WRONG to all the vital interests of the community. We can view it only as a judgment of Heaven for our sins, which should humble and excite all the people of the State, who love their country and race, to greater zeal and earnestness, that the curse may be removed and the earth no more receive its slain.

Resolved, That the American Temperance Union sympathize with all in every State and Nation who are engaged in this warfare with the traffic in intoxicating drinks ; with every association in our own land ; with the United Kingdom Alliance in Great Britain ; the Scottish Maine Law League ; the Maine Law Leagues of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia ; the Governments of Liberia and the Sandwich Islands ; the Victoria Anti-Liquor League of Australia, and the millions of Anti-License men of India. To all, we say—Brethren ! Your cause is right. Be of good courage. Let your hands be strong ; your work shall not go unrewarded.

Resolved, That we feel grateful for all that the UNION have been able to accomplish in the past year, and for the favor with which their publications have been received in the community. They ask for divine wisdom and guidance in all their labors ; for the co-operation of all philanthropists and patriots ; of all ministers of churches ; of all mothers and daughters ; of men of wealth and liberality ; and they pledge a faithful devotedness of time, and talent, and money, as it shall be contributed, to the great battle which is now to be fought for the world's redemption.

HYMN, FIRST SUNG AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE, IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.

God help our suffering race
Strong Drink's dark curse to chase,
From off this earth.

Send blessings from above,
Truth, mercy, peace, and love :
Oh ! let thy Spirit move,
And hope have birth !

Awhile the young world stood,
Beauteous and "very good,"
In God's pure sight ;
But fraud and folly strange,
Now good to evil change,
And from our hearts estrange
His holy light !

No deeper stream of woe,
Can curse this world below,
Than Strong Drink's flood !
Where every wave is wrath ;

And passion's stormy breath
Bears man to sin and death,
Through tears and blood !

Thrice cursed traffic ! vile !
Where hope, on funeral pile,
Meets dark despair !
Where men for sordid gain,
Deal out disease and pain,
And speed their country's bane,
With artful snare !

God help our suffering race,
Strong Drink's black curse to chase
Away from earth.
May our Maine Law now prove
A sovereign law of love,
All through the nations move,
And save the world !

REMARKS OF HON. MR. POWERS.

MR. POWERS said :—" The great subject which had called them together was one which concerned every patriot in the land. The great question was to find a remedy for the evil under which the country was laboring. Whatever the mass of the friends of this reform thought most conducive to the desired end, ought to be adopted. The time had been when attempts were made to lop off the branches of this great evil. The time had come, to strike at its trunk. Appetite and avarice were not the most formidable foes of the cause. Political organization was a greater. This great question had been styled a side issue. If this were a side issue, in the name of heaven what was a main issue ? The friends of the reform had unwittingly done much to perpetuate the evil by the system of license laws, of selecting suitable men for unsuitable business. He went on to expose the ill effects of the license laws, and quoted an early resolution of the Continental Congress, passed in 1774 :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Colonies, immediately to pass

laws the most effectual for putting a stop to the pernicious practice of distilling, from which the most extensive evils are derived, unless prevented.

“He would rather have a repeal of all law on the subject than the present license law. The consequences would be appalling, but the remedy would be sooner applied. He spoke of the folly of the objection that men were deprived of their legal rights. The Constitution intended that the Legislature should be the judge of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the seizure. It was asked, What security had the people? Go into other States where the law had been in operation, and ask how it worked there. A man’s house was his castle—if he was an honest man. He told the story of a lady being sick and calling in a noted empiric, who said in answer to the inquiries of her friends, that she would have three fits and die in the first of them. Whether that would be the case with the Governor of New York, it was not for him to determine.” (Enthusiastic Applause.)

SPEECH OF REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER, OF BROOKLYN.

“I TAKE it for granted that no proposition will meet with more universal acceptance than this; that it is the duty of a community to take care that evils known and generally recognized need to be remedied; and that if you go from one end of society to the other, there will be no difference of opinion as to whether the use of intoxicating liquors is an evil or not, and not only an evil itself, but the parent of evil. Every body will speak of it as they used to speak of milk-sickness in the West. In travelling there, I never found the location where it prevailed. The people would say, there is none here; but fifteen miles further on, they have it badly. Go on fifteen miles, and there I was told, Oh! no, we have not got it here, but about twenty miles from here they have it. All would agree that it existed, but not there. Go to men that are entirely temperate, and they believe there are evils, and they will point them to you. Go down to certain men and ask, Are there evils? Yes; but down below us, not with us. So you go down continually, clear down, till you come to Pandemonium, and there will be no admission of the evil with them. Now we do not propose to take the testimony of those who are interested. We never ask a thief his opinion of theft, nor a robber his opinion of robbery. Those who are honest have a better opportunity to judge than those who are interested. The sober, moral, intelligent portion of community, who are not interested in the use or sale of the article—for that makes a great difference in the range of a man’s conscience—are the persons to whom we shall appeal as to whether this is an evil, and how great it is. There was never a greater. It epitomizes hell on earth. The proposition I lay down is an antagonistic principle. It is, that it is the duty of the community to interfere with all the evils that afflict the community; and that a self governing community cannot discharge its duty to any considerable evil, and especially so gigantic an evil as this, unless it takes measures not merely at it, but measures that shall cut it up by the roots. We have tried various ways, according to the light we have had, and we have not succeeded. At last, we have come to a time when we think we have got something—and they think so, too—that will succeed. (Applause.) If those who are interested think the law will be inoperative, all we ask is, Give us the law. If you think it will not do any thing, why do you cry? If you think it will, we think so too. (Laughter.) It seems to me that this law is the first radical cure that has been proposed. I am perfectly willing to try moral means as to persons who do not drink, nor sell, nor make it; in other words, on men who have a moral sense. But the idea of trying moral means on men whose conscience is gone! You might as well make demonstrations in mathematics before the blind man; or get up a concert in a deaf and dumb asylum.

“ We propose to strike at the very root of this evil. We aim to make the sale of intoxicating liquors seem as criminal, and be as criminal as any other business ; so that if a man be found in so sneaking a business, we would put him in jail, just as we do now the man who puts his hand in his neighbor’s pocket, or is caught riding away on his neighbor’s horse. It makes a great difference with a man’s standing, whether he has ever been in jail or not, though not with his real character, perhaps. We mean to have a law which, when men get used to handling it, will make the business of selling liquor as odious, and make a man as criminal, as if he committed any crime that now would vomit him out of society. We don’t propose to introduce any new principle. But we propose to take a principle as old as jurisprudence itself ; to take good old Anglo Saxon principles, which existed in England before we came to this country ; as old here as the colonies themselves ; principles, with respect to which, no man makes any objection, and apply them to another case. That is all. Now men find out that the right of search, and of confiscation of a man’s property, is a contravention of justice. If it is, it has been a contravention of justice for the last two or three hundred years.

“ With respect to this law, it is a matter of some consequence to know where the law came from ; not the pattern, that was given in the mount away down East, in Maine. Did the clergy, or synods, or conferences, or associations of Christians, tinker up and propose this law ? Did it come from the lawyers, from the wealthy, from the commercial classes ? No, it came from no such quarter. If there is a law which ever had its origin, its foundation, and all its springs among the people, and grew among them, and worked its way to notice from among them—if there ever was a democratic law, this is that law. I count this very important, because it foretells its permanence when once it is applied to all, from the top to the bottom. Go out now, and make an inventory of those who are most active, and although we shall find many clergymen who acquiesce in it, and are very glad of it, and lawyers who approve it, not a few ; yet, characteristically, this is a law which has been demanded more by the common people than any other class in this country.

“ It is important, first, that this law should be right. There is nothing in a free world which will remain unchanged that is not right—right according to God’s thought about it. If I supposed there was any snap-judgment, or taking undue advantage of men, I would not advocate it for a moment. Anything which has inherent injustice in it must be taken down. Justice is the first element. The second element is discussion of the proposed law. The general conviction that this is a law called for, is important. On that account I am not sorry that we meet with checks and delays. In so vast a population as belongs to the Empire State, it is not to be expected that the discussion will go as fast as in smaller States, where you can educate up to the point of efficient execution. This is not to deter us. We like to be driven back. And if we are driven back, we will go back to the people. They are good company. (Applause.) We will go and take fresh instructions and ask them, Did we represent you right ? And when they, in tones of thunder, say, Go back ! then we will go back ; and if by some hocus pocus, it is lost, we will go again and again, till we beat a path between Albany and the hearts of the people. (Loud applause.) We will go more busily than the weaver’s shuttle, and, like that, we will carry a thread that will weave a fabric that will last, and be a tie that will not be easily broken through. (Applause.)

“ I like to take the weak side, and when I find a man who is weak, I, from a sort of chivalrous feeling, take his side ; and, therefore, I take the side of Governor Seymour. (Laughter.) And though I think I can understand your prejudices, and that you think he has done very wrong, I think he has done one thing good for us. If the law had been passed, and were to

go into execution next December, you would have to carry the law through all the coming campaign, without gaining anything from it. Now we have the sympathy of the people who were disappointed. And I think the devil has overleaped himself this time. (Laughter.) I don't allude to Governor Seymour. Now, we are prepared for reverses till we get this law. We shall have now an opportunity to test our strength and our breath. Perhaps we shall not get this law next winter. But it is not a matter of fancy or a matter of policy, any one of which will do. The men who are engaged in this cause, are engaged in it because it is a moral movement, founded on a moral principle; and there is an eternity in a moral principle, and we will hold on to it just as long as we hold on to that. When our law was passed, and was vetoed, of course it caused a good deal of commotion and agitation, and I was not a little curious to hear what the other side would then propose. We had proposed a law which would make criminal the sale of intoxicating drinks. They proposed a law that would prevent the sale of adulterated liquor. Now, if there is any case in which adulteration is legitimate, I think it is in the case of liquor; for I am of opinion that you cannot very well mix up so many ingredients as are mixed in liquors, without there being some one among them that will not be as hurtful as the liquor itself. I think the liquor is the worst poison. But, suppose we agree to this law which they propose; then, taking Governor Seymour's ground, no right of search, no right to confiscate property; and how will you find out whether liquor is adulterated? I know some men who would like to be put on a committee of search. (Laughter.) How get the right to enter a man's premises? If it is right to enter a man's premises to find whether the liquor he sells is adulterated, and to confiscate it if it is, then the principle is admitted.

“But they ask, Why do you not, instead of passing a prohibitory law, execute the laws you now have? My reply is, that if you really execute the laws you have so as to prevent the evil, it will not be six months before the same objection will be heard. The truth is, they do not want to give up the thing, and whatever you do which will make them, they will fight. I don't care if you are borne in a chariot made of constitutions; I don't care if you bear God's word, and if angels carry you, no matter what is the justice and the carefulness with which you bring it, if you bring in an act which strikes at the root of the matter, they will make the same objections that they do now. Therefore, my reply is, that there will be no more hindrances to the execution of a law that strikes at the root of the matter, than to the law which we now have, if it were fully executed, and therefore we ask for a law by which we can do it. We live in a progressive age, in which processes that it once required many men a long time to perform, can now be performed in a short time by a single machine. Now we have a system of laws which is cumbersome. If we can make a law by which several processes can be come at quickly, we propose to do it in the spirit of the age, and do up the work better, too. It is said, suppose you get this law, do you suppose you can carry it into effect? My reply is this, I never knew a man—I heard a man once say that he cleared forty acres of land by accident—but, I never knew a man clear forty acres of land, but that he was obliged to begin on one side of the land and go through with his axe to the other. Now we have a law like an axe. We shall begin on one side and cut all around to the other. We do not expect to pass the law and see it executed in a minute; we do not expect to pass the law on Monday and get up Tuesday morning and say there is not a drunkard in the State of New York. Not at all. In four-fifths of the State of New York there will be no difficulty in executing the law at once. In towns and villages where men live—they exist in cities—in four-fifths of the State, no sooner will the law be passed and signed, than it will at once

shut up the grog shops, and will drive liquor selling into such places as counterfeiting is in; as swindling is in; and the first effect in cities will be to sweep some hundreds of the violators of the law out of existence, and then another section; and so, section after section, until at last the law will be as nearly perfectly executed as any law is. We never suppose we shall be able to wholly prevent men from drinking, by preventing men selling. We cannot expect that the law will be executed so that there shall never be an infraction of it, but we do expect that it will be so executed that the wilderness shall bud and blossom as the rose; we do expect the day, before long, when this evil will be numbered among the things that were. And we shall rejoice. I shall for one. I expect the day will come, which will be as the day of universal emancipation was in the West Indies. The time will come when we shall have celebrations like those of the Fourth of July, to celebrate the day of the passage of such a law in New York. Do you not suppose that, as in the earlier periods after the Revolution, when bonfires were kindled in the streets, and bells rung, and processions formed, and powder was burning; we, too, shall have a day like that? Though some then were sad, yet many were rejoicing. While some had husbands or fathers who fell on the field of battle, were there not those whose joy was diminished by the reflection that some friend had been massacred by the relentless foe, or had fallen by British lead? So, when we come to lay low the foe who was our greatest enemy, some widows will say, 'Would God it had been in his day! He was true of heart when I knew him young, and but for the facility with which he obtained this drink, he would now be my protector.' Many an orphan will say, 'Would God it had been earlier, then I should have a father!' But there will be maidens, and mothers, and fathers, who will swell forth such a peal of joy as never broke through the air, and will roll from the Lakes to the Hudson, and from the Hudson to the Sea.

BISHOP BURGESS ON THE MAINE LAW.

GARDINER, ME, August 22, 1853.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:—To your inquiries I reply briefly, in their order:

Q. 1. Did this prohibitory law originate in the schemes of politicians for other purposes, or did it stand in the Legislature upon its own merits?

A. I have very little knowledge of the operation of politicians amongst us; and, undoubtedly, individual leaders or others, members of parties, may have been influenced by their political interests in sustaining or opposing this measure. But I suppose that, beyond all question, the law originated with persons who were solely concerned for the suppression of intemperance; and that it was passed because it was believed to be demanded by a great majority of the people for its own merits.

Q. 2. Has it justified the expectations entertained of it by its friends at the time of its passage?

A. What were their actual expectations I cannot venture to say; but every reasonable expectation must have been more than satisfied. Whatever is in the power of prohibitory law to accomplish without extreme severity or inquisitorial scrutiny, this law has generally, in my opinion, accomplished. Those who are bent upon obtaining liquor can and do succeed: but it has ceased to be an article of traffic; it has ceased to present any open temptation; the young are comparatively safe; and all the evils of public drinking houses and bars removed, together with the interest of a large body of men in upholding them for their own pecuniary advantage.

Q. 3. Have there been any reactions in public opinion, so as to induce the belief that, at a future day, it might be repealed?

A. In my opinion, quite the contrary. Should the law be repealed, which seems in the highest degree improbable, it will be the result merely of political arrangements; but I do not believe that any political party would venture on a measure so hazardous to its own prospects. Undoubtedly many discreet and conscientious persons saw strong objections to some features of the law, and still feel their force. But multitudes who doubted the expediency of adopting it, would, I believe, regret and resist its repeal.

Q. 4. Has the law been generally executed, and the amount of intoxication been speedily diminished in the State in consequence?

A. The law has been, I believe, generally executed; though not everywhere with equal energy; and the amount of intoxication has been, in consequence, most evidently, strikingly, and even, I think I may say, wonderfully diminished.

Q. 5. Has the health, wealth, morality, and general prosperity of the State been apparently promoted by it?

A. Unquestionably.

Q. 6. Has the law been found in its operation to be oppressive to any citizens not guilty of its violation?

A. So far as I know, not in the least.

In thus answering your inquiries, I would avoid everything like the intrusion of an opinion respecting the practicability or wisdom of such a measure elsewhere. I never appeared here as its public advocate; and I am not blind to such arguments as may be urged against legislation which, though it is peculiarly humane in its operation upon *persons*, is so sweeping with reference to *things*. Nevertheless I am most devoutly grateful for the practical working of the law; and believe that to every family in Maine, it is of more value than can easily be computed.

I am, very faithfully, Your friend and brother,

GEORGE BURGESS.

REV. C. W. ANDREWS, D. D.

RECENT TESTIMONIALS TO THE WORKINGS OF THE MAINE LAW.

THE Hon. Neal Dow, in answer to a letter of inquiry, says, April 15, 1854:

“The Maine Law has been in operation in the State less than three years, having been approved by the Governor, June 2, 1851; and now it will be unanimously agreed by all disinterested persons, that the quantity of liquor sold or consumed in the State is not one-tenth so much as it was before that time. If I were to say one-twentieth, I think it would be very far within the truth. Neither in Portland, Bangor, or any other city or town in Maine, are there any open grog-shops, as there were all over the State before the Maine Law; while in many of the towns the rum traffic has been entirely annihilated. A system like the rum traffic—the growth of centuries, and interwoven with the appetites, passions, and interests of all bad men—is not to be overthrown in a day or year, but will pass away with time and effort.”

Says Joshua Nye, Esq., of Waterville, Maine, Dec. 17, 1853:

“Before the passage of this law, our towns were groaning under the weight of taxes caused by enormous pauper-bills, brought upon them, in three cases out of four, by persons who had become miserable by the use of intoxicating drinks. Our jails were, I may safely say, almost at all times, well filled with persons who were committed for crimes done while under the influence of strong drinks; quarrelling and fighting were so common about our streets as to attract but little attention. At the time of the passage of the law, there

were nearly thirty grog-shops in this town. Now let us look at the appearance of things at the present time. I *know* of not *one* place in the State where liquor is sold openly. I will venture to say that there *is no place* within fifty miles of *this* village, where liquor can be obtained except in a secret manner. Our young men are growing up to be soldiers in the temperance army, and to form a public opinion ere long that will demand a law to consign rum-sellers to the State Prison. Quarrelling and fighting in our streets have entirely ceased, and all is peace and quietness. But what rejoices my heart the most, is, to see the families that have been made happy by the enforcement of this law. Many a poor woman has come to me and with tears implored me to continue to enforce the law, as by so doing, it had been the means of reforming her husband, and by so continuing, it would be the means of saving him. God forbid that I should ever turn a deaf ear to their supplications."

Says the Hon. Woodbury Davis, of Belfast, Maine :

"The operation of this law here, for two years, so far from impairing our confidence in it, has compelled even its enemies to acknowledge its beneficial effects, while the number of its active supporters has been constantly increasing. No one could be elected to office here in opposition to it; and in this whole county, at the last election of members of the Legislature, which turned on the question of its repeal, eleven of the twelve members chosen, are well known as among its most efficient advocates and friends."

A correspondent of the New York Tribune writes, May 23, 1854 ;

"I was at Burlington, Vt., last Saturday, and the town was full of people. Court was being held there, and yet all was quiet and orderly ; not a drunken or noisy person was to be seen or heard. I could but notice the contrast to what I saw in the same place six years ago, when all the hotels, bars, and grog-shops were in full blast. There they have the Maine Law."

The Annual Report of the State of Religion by the Congregational Convention of Vermont, for 1854, testifies ;

"Correct temperance principles are becoming from year to year more generally received and more firmly established. In respect to the indiscriminate sale of intoxicating drinks, a great change has been wrought in the public mind within a few years. This traffic is now looked upon almost universally, as an evil, no longer to be regulated, or restricted merely, but to be prohibited. Very few are to be found to advocate a return to the old system of licensing. The present law works well where it is enforced, and exerts a salutary influence in places—and there are supposed to be not a few such in the State—where it is not enforced. After another year's trial, we can say of it, as in our resolution of last year, that 'we believe it is operating most efficiently, and at the same time most quietly for the accomplishment of its great object.' Intoxicating drinks are indeed still sold to some extent, but in most cases the sale hides itself, and observes a caution never known under any previous law."

Says Ex-Governor Eaton, of Vermont, December 8, 1853 :

"That the law has exerted an immense influence, and accomplished great good, is as plain to him, whose eyes are not resolutely closed to the light of truth, as is the light of the sun to him who opens, at mid-day, eyes that have not been deadened and darkened by paralysis, or veiled by cataract. Yet, on the other hand, the law was passed in the face of opposition, and has had opposition to encounter in its execution. But this, as a temporary affair, at least, is no more than was expected here—no more than was expected everywhere. Any barrier or hindrance raised in the way of a profitable traffic, no

matter how pernicious and unholy, has, in every age, encountered bitter opposition, and been met with vigorous, if not, indeed, furious and lawless efforts to break it down. And even those who manufacture and sell that liquid poison, which works out such deadly ruin to both body and soul, we may expect will, if their employment is disturbed, be no less full of wrath, and utter their cry of remonstrance in no less angry tones, than did those who made silver shrines for the Ephesian goddess. Indeed, they will tell us, not simply as did Demetrius, that “by this craft” they have their “*wealth*,” but rather will declare that their very “*living*” depends upon it. Yet, granting it true, that they could live in no *other* way—is it so very desirable that the race of those thus employed should be perpetuated, that we must quietly endure the sore evils we suffer at their hands? We believe, however, that they need not die of starvation, though they should change their pursuit; that the employment may be put down, without killing off the individuals who have followed it. Indeed, we should wish they *might* live—to repent of the evil they have done.”

EXTRACT OF AN ADDRESS OF THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

“OUR proposition is to pass a law declaring the retail traffic in intoxicating drink unlawful, and forthwith to prohibit it by the most stringent provisions. The manufacture of the article we would also prohibit in the same way. The sale of intoxicating drinks, as a beverage, from and after some reasonable time, we would by law forever abolish and prohibit. But these great reforms we do not ask for until your will is ascertained. We ask for the passage of a law whereby the freemen of the State, entitled to a vote, shall, at the polls, say whether they desire the enactment of a prohibitory law! That prohibition is no new thing, is shown by our laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks in quantities less than three gallons *without a license*; prohibiting gaming; our quarantine laws; the laws which prohibit idle gentlemen from going at large, by classing them as vagrants, and many other similar enactments. That prohibition is necessary, is shown by the fact that moral suasion has utterly failed. Other States have made the experiment for us, and found it to be easily done, and productive of the most happy results. Our own incorporated towns—Edgefield, Anderson, Spartanburg, Greenville, Laurens, Newberry, and Sumterville,—have shown how easily the traffic is suppressed, and how happily peace and good order result from it.”

POLITICAL ACTION.

At the Annual Meeting of the New York State Temperance Society, held June 22, 1854, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted;

Resolved, That the experience of the past has taught us this lesson; that if we would succeed, we must be true, under whatever pressure of temptation, to our great IDEA—Prohibition; suffering no love of gain, no desire for popularity, no attachment to partizan organizations, no longing for political success, to crowd it out of view; persistingly subordinating all inferior issues to this, and sternly withholding our suffrages from every candidate for legislative or executive office, who is not distinctly pledged, by his antecedents, or otherwise, to the enactment and enforcement of a law prohibitory of the liquor traffic.

Resolved, That our organization, is composed of men of diverse political sentiments and parties—that our principle of affiliation, is—opposition to the

influences through which the evils of intemperance are perpetuated—that we have no wish or purpose to injure or to benefit *any* political party, as such—and (that) we desire the co-operation of *all* (and shall cordially approve of *all* so far as their action is promotive of the principles of the Reform we advocate)—so far as it is antagonistic to that Reform, we will oppose, and repudiate *all*.

PROGRESS.

IN Connecticut, a Prohibitory Law passed the State Legislature, on the 22d of June, by a vote of 148 to 61 in the House, and 19 to 2 in the Senate, and, almost immediately received the approval of the Governor. The whole of New England, with the exception of New Hampshire, has now substituted the prohibitory for the regulating system. It pervades Michigan, also; has once been received by the Territory of Minnesota, and is virtually so by the State of Ohio.

The Prohibitory Law passed by Connecticut, permits cider and wine to be manufactured from fruits raised by the manufacturer; but he cannot sell either in a less quantity than five gallons. As the purchaser cannot sell it again, the market for either of these articles must be quite limited. Spirituous liquors are entirely prohibited, both as regards manufacture and sale, (except by town agents,) and ale, porter, and lager beer, are specially held to be spirituous liquors by the act. In Rhode Island, the Law authorizes the arrest, confinement, and fine of any person found drunk in any of the towns of the State; but if such intoxicated person shall disclose the name of the person who furnished the liquor with which he got drunk, and shall give evidence against said person, he may be discharged from imprisonment; and persons furnishing intoxicating liquors, giving or selling, are liable to prosecution.

ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION.

IN the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (New School,) at Philadelphia, May, 1854, the following resolution was offered by Dr. Beman, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the General Assembly continue to view with great interest, the progress of the Temperance Reformation, most intimately connected with the vital interests of men for time and eternity; and that they do especially hail its new phase through the action of several State Legislatures, by which the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, is entirely prohibited. They commend this new system of legislation to the attention and support of all ministers and churches connected with this body, for its blessed results already experienced; and as able, if universally adopted, to do much to seal up the great fountains of drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, and relieve humanity of one of its most demoralizing and distressing evils.

At the Sixty-fourth Anniversary of the New York Baptist Association, lately held at New York, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

Whereas the sale and use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage is productive of evil and desolation; and,

Whereas, strenuous efforts are being made by moral suasion, and by seeking legal enactments to remove the evil; therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That in our opinion, the law, commonly known as the Maine Law, is sound in theory, and thoroughly efficient in its results and operations.